

# A SHORT HISTORY OF BULGARIA

by  
STANLEY G. EVANS, M.A.

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STANLEY G. EVANS

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## CHAPTER I

### THE BACKGROUND TO BULGARIA

THAT exciting land of mountains and rivers and seas which is bounded by the Adriatic, the Aegean and the Black Sea and is known as the Balkan Peninsula, an area rich not only in resources but in natural defences and an area too which is a part of the natural land route between Europe and Asia, has been a centre of civilisation from the very earliest times. The country which includes the major part of the Balkan range itself, Bulgaria, is, therefore, one whose antecedents go back as far into the past as modern archaeologists and pre-historians can probe. The attempt to discover a country's history is itself a part of its history, and a country which has no interest in its own past is sadly lacking in national consciousness, and while this is almost a truism it is all too often forgotten that the actual state of historical studies varies very widely from country to country and has partly been dependent upon the modern history of the country in question.

For Bulgaria, certainly, the struggle to re-discover its own history was an essential part of its struggle for liberation from Turkish domination, and the beginnings of modern Bulgarian historical studies go back to the period of the Bulgarian renaissance which we shall come to later in this book, and which was the actual prelude to the political struggle for national liberation. But history is one thing and what is sometimes called pre-history is another: the one is composed from books and parchments as well as such other data as coins and buildings, the other can only be reconstructed by the toil of the archaeologist's spade and is therefore much more difficult to organise and demands settled conditions for its successful pursuit. As we study Bulgarian history, therefore, we shall not be surprised that it is only during the last forty years that methodical excavation has begun to expose the essential outline of the earliest part of its story.

Modern archaeological work in Bulgaria began immediately after the country's liberation from Turkish rule in 1878 and, in itself, illustrated the passionate desire of the new Bulgaria to re-create its own past. The first specialists, K. Jirecek, the two Skorpils and V. Dobrovski came from other Slav countries. They studied whole regions and

discovered many relics and it was because of their discoveries and their initiative that the National Archaeological Museum in Sofia was founded. In the first decade of this century major excavations were made at Pliska, Nikopol, Glava Panega; an archaeological and ancient history section of the university came into being; and the first Bulgarian specialists appeared, so that by 1910 the leading Bulgarian scholar in the field, G. I. Katsarov, had already published fifty-four treatises and seventy communications and articles. Nevertheless, it was not until 1911 that a "pre-history section" was arranged at all in the National Museum in Sofia and such material as was gathered for this was stored in a basement while priceless stone monuments rotted in the yard outside with the result that the inscriptions on forty of them were lost. Students of the subject were constantly hampered by lack of money, and a report of the Museum had to say that excavations "have only a probing character for lack of funds". Only now, under the present Government, is this work really being developed, which means that, while it seems likely that the broad outline of the story is reasonably clear, many of the details may well have to be revised as new discoveries are made. The story can be filled out enormously by excavations of the type which began in 1946 when a hillock was investigated in Karanova Village in Nova Zagora County, which covered an area of nearly 3000 square feet and was 40 feet high, and which contained five layers in each of which were the relics of a different cultural period of between 3000 and 1750 B.C.

Modern archaeological work shows that just as the story of the land we are considering is the story of successive ancient cultures based upon the materials they used for their tools, so also it is a story of developing forms of society from primitive beginnings (40,000-12,000 B.C.) through a matriarchal society (7000-3000 B.C.) to a patriarchal society in the Bronze Age (1900-900 B.C.) and the Slav society which followed. It is also the story of successive peoples, the Thracians who occupied both sides of the Danube and Transylvania across to the shores of the Adriatic between the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the Greek colonists who came to the borders of Thrace in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., the Romans who eventually achieved a domination over the area, and finally the Bulgarians.

In this book we are really concerned only with the last of these, with, that is to say, the part of the Balkan Peninsula which became Bulgaria when and after it became Bulgaria. We cannot, however, completely ignore the fact that all the earlier periods mentioned above played their part in forming the people who later became Bulgarians.

The first traces of human habitation in Bulgaria go back to the last Ice Age, when Northern Europe and the slopes of the Alps and the Caucasus were covered with sheets of ice and glaciers. About 100,000 years ago small bands of mammoth-hunters began to take shelter in the caves of the Balkan range, and left in them rough knives and scrapers made of flint flakes, together with remains of mammoth, reindeer, and other extinct or Arctic animals which they hunted. Their tools are of what is called the Mousterian type, similar to those found in the cave of Le Moustier in France, and in many other caves in Europe and Hither Asia.

Such tools are always associated with the remains of Neanderthal man, an aberrant species of the human genus that physically was not completely human. Presumably the Bulgarian hunters belonged to the same species, though no skeletons have so far been found in the country.

Later on, during the latter part of the Ice Age, other bands of mammoth and reindeer hunters sheltered in caves. These were better equipped than the Mousterians, and presumably were physically like modern man. They had learnt more economical methods of working flint, and how to make weapons and implements of bone, antler and ivory, and they were equipped with missile weapons like darts, if not already bows and arrows, the possession of which must have substantially augmented the productivity of the chase, while hunting was now probably combined with fishing. Very similar tools have been found in many caves in Western and Central Europe, in the Crimea, and Palestine, and represent what archaeologists term the Aurignacian culture.

With the passing of the Ice Age about 15,000 years ago, the mammoth died out, reindeer and steppe animals migrated to the north, and in the Balkan Peninsula as in the rest of temperate Europe continuous deciduous forest invaded what had formerly been parkland, steppe, or tundra. There is no evidence that descendants of the Aurignacians or other Ice Age tribes of hunters and fishers survived into this Recent period of the geologists. No remains of the so-called Mesolithic cultures that attest such survival in Northern and Western Europe have been found in the Bulgarian caves, but there are reasons to expect that they will in time turn up in the Lower Danube valley, and perhaps along the coasts of Thrace. But the archaeological record as known today begins anew with hamlets and villages of farmers who combined with hunting, fishing, and collecting, the breeding of cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs, and the cultivation of cereals.

In general the wheats and barleys that these so-called Neolithic

peasants cultivated must have been of Asiatic origin, and introduced into Europe by at least an infiltration of Asiatic cultivators, but the wheat cultivated by the earliest villages in Bulgaria is a small variety, one-corn (Latin: *Triticum monococcum*), the wild ancestors of which can grow also in the southern parts of the Balkan Peninsula.

The first farmers who initiated the cultivation of Bulgarian soil are shown by their distinctive pottery and other items of equipment to belong to a group of allied tribes who created the Starčevo culture and spread quite rapidly over the whole Balkan Peninsula from the coasts of the Dardanelles and the Aegean across the Danube to the upper waters of the Pruth, and to the Maros in Transylvania and Hungary. They were not yet regularly sedentary peasants, and they still relied largely on hunting and fishing as well as stock-breeding, and even in cultivation probably still practised an extravagant rural economy, such as may be seen today among the hill tribes of Assam, that entailed frequent shifts to virgin land.

As a result of the frequent small migrations entailed by this system, the Starčevo farmers maintained frequent intercourse between the several local groups, and preserved over the enormous territory they eventually occupied remarkably uniform traditions expressed in a homogeneous material culture. In the sequel, however, improved methods of cultivation were developed or were introduced that enabled the peasants to settle down more permanently in one place.

In Bulgaria, as elsewhere in the Balkans and along the Lower Danube, they established permanent villages, occupied continuously for generations and frequently reconstructed on the same site, so that their ruins ultimately formed mounds or tells sometimes as much as 30 feet in height. Under these circumstances, being still largely self-sufficient—i.e. capable of supplying themselves with food and all the materials for essential tools from local resources—the several local groups tended to develop divergent traditions, expressed in arbitrary differences in material and equipment: in archaeological terms, the uniformity of the Starčevo culture broke up, giving place to a bewildering multitude of more regional cultures.

Their diversity was probably accentuated by shifts of population within the area and by actual immigration from outside; new cereals such as emmer and macaroni wheats may have been introduced by the latter. The coasts of Eastern Thrace, like Macedonia, seem to have been colonised before 2500 B.C. by groups coming from North-west Asia Minor who were already familiar with the use of metal, and that not only copper, but also bronze—an alloy of copper and tin. But

when they had arrived in Europe these Asiatic colonists did not organise regular supplies of these metals, and had to continue using stone and bone implements.

It is possible that similar colonists at the same time spread up the valleys of the Maritsa and the Tundja, without, however, crossing the main Balkan range. North of that range, however, along the Lower Danube, descendants of the Starčevo farmers, mingled perhaps with varying proportions of hunter-fisher tribes, surviving from the Ice Age, began to create a series of very distinctive cultures, best known from the Rumanian side of the river, and called, after a site there, the Boian culture. The Boian farmers lived in permanent villages of substantial one-roomed rectangular houses with walls of wattle and daub supported by stout posts. For baking they had constructed domed clay ovens, quite like those to be found in any Balkan village today. Though only equipped with stone adzes, they were skilful carpenters, and were capable of making and decorating tasteful wooden vessels that are known only from their clay imitations. Some were covered all over with elaborate repetitive patterns based on the spiral and meander, a decorative style distinctive of the whole of the loess-lands of Europe from the Dnieper to the Rhine and from the Harz to the Balkans, and traceable back perhaps to the Ice Age mammoth-hunters who had decorated ivory bracelets in the same style at Mezin in the Ukraine. In the sequel the Boian culture in its turn broke up into local groups as a result of continued divergence of tradition, but also perhaps because of population movements within the area, and contacts with tribes beyond its boundaries: in archaeological language, the Boian culture was succeeded by the Gumelnita and Salcuta cultures on the Lower Danube, and both of these spread across the Balkan Range into South-eastern Thrace and down the Maritsa and the Struma.

In both domains metal, at least copper and gold, were now known, and copper was occasionally used even for the manufacture of tools as well as ornaments. There are deposits of copper in Bulgaria, and so the metal need not have been imported, but it was very sparingly used, and by no means replaced stone and bone in the manufacture of tools. No regular system was organised for the distribution of supplies, still less for the importation of tin to alloy with the copper, and the several villages remained on the whole self-sufficing. While no regular trade had been organised to break up this self-sufficiency, exchanges between the villages within Bulgaria and even beyond its frontiers did take place, if in a rather spasmodic manner. Indeed in that sense trade goes back to the time of the first colonisation by farmers, since even

in the Starčevo settlements of the interior we find shells that had been imported from the Mediterranean.

Now, in addition to shells, we find flint and other superior materials for weapons being imported, while ornaments of Asiatic or Aegean style were locally imitated in copper. Side by side with this extension of "trade" go explicit indications of warfare; the most conspicuous and reliable are so-called battle-axes of stone, perforated for the shaft. On the other hand there are as yet no flint arrow-heads to attest the use of the bow, and huntsmen at least relied rather on the sling, as had their ancestors in the Starčevo phase.

Nor is there any positive evidence for chiefs; still less for the division of society into classes. Society was surely still organised on a kinship basis, and it is quite likely that kinship was reckoned through the mother, i.e. a matrilineal organisation, sometimes termed "matriarchy". This hypothesis receives some support from the very numerous ritual objects of baked clay that survive. Most early farming societies in Asia, and Europe too, including the Starčevo people in Bulgaria, moulded in clay, and baked small images of a female personage, presumably a fertility figure, perhaps a Mother Goddess symbolising Earth herself.

Among the Gumelnita and Salcuta tribes such figurines were produced in enormous numbers, though always highly conventionalised, as are representations of the human form among all contemporary barbarians. The figurines were now well modelled, and richly ornamented with spiral and other patterns that may represent tattooing or dress. Very conventional figurines were also carved in bone, while quite large vases were modelled in the shape of a seated female personage (the eyes are sometimes represented by shells inserted into the clay, a trick practised by the earliest farmers in Palestine and by the Sumerian sculptors in Mesopotamia).

Figurines of males and phalli also occur, but are relatively extremely rare.

But in addition to human beings, cows and sheep, thrones and couches, and even houses, were also represented by realistic clay models. We cannot discover in detail precisely in what magico-religious ceremonies these fertility models were used, and some may not even be ritual objects at all, but have served as toys, and clay rattles too are found. In any case, the models illustrate the commodious houses in which even Neolithic Bulgarians lived, while the chairs and couches refute the idea that they were content with squatting on the ground. Housing and furniture was already comparable to what may

be found in any peasant village in Southern Europe or Hither Asia today.

The statuettes and models would hardly commend themselves to modern taste as artistic products, though doubtless embodying the aesthetic ideals of their makers. Their decorative art, expressed in designs painted or incised on the clay vases and larger figurines, is more attractive to us. As in the previous phase, meander patterns, or now more frequently spirals, are used to cover the whole surface of the vase with an attractive all-over design.

With the end of the Gumelnita phase, the old aesthetic and ideological traditions broke off, and the record of permanent habitation presented by the succeeding layers in the tells seems likewise to have been interrupted. At the top of a few tells fortified settlements seem to denote what may be called a Bronze Age occupation; ritual objects familiar from the deeper layers have disappeared, the pottery is plain and unornamented, but vaguely reminiscent of those North-west Asiatic traditions that may have made themselves felt much earlier in Bulgaria. Though termed Bronze Age, metal is no more common in these settlements than in their predecessors, and stone implements and weapons were still made and used; nor are bronze tools, weapons, and ornaments such as were current in the Aegean and in the more northerly and westerly parts of temperate Europe found, either in hoards as in Central Europe, or isolated. Two or three long rapiers seem to be local copies of a peculiar type popular in Greece during the Mycenaean Age, 1500-1300 B.C.; but no organisation for the regular distribution of metal seems to have been created in Thrace, and this was the essential pre-condition for a Bronze Age such as we know in Greece or Britain.

A few burial mounds—barrows—may go back to this period, and might belong to members of a pastoral aristocracy. Perhaps pastoral tribes from the steppe regions of South Russia had flooded Bulgaria and brought to an end the regular village settlements of Gumelnita and Salcuta tribes. Perhaps these were the first Thracians, though it is not impossible that the essentially linguistic name could be applied also to the Gumelnita population. Be that as it may, the graves of the historical Thracians carry on the tradition of burial in a barrow that first appears somewhere in the rather obscure Bronze Age.

The earlier Iron Age barrows are relatively poor, and contain, together with iron weapons, brooches, and other ornaments such as were popular also among the Illyrian populations of the North-west Balkans and Western Transylvania. That the impression of poverty



produced by the excavated barrows is partially deceptive may be inferred from a couple of exceptional graves, and above all from a great hoard of gold vessels and ornaments found at Vulchi Trun on the north side of the Balkans. Some of the gold vases are of shapes known in pottery from the Bronze Age settlements, while the belt ornaments, inlaid with silver, are richly decorated with curvilinear patterns illustrating a survival of the old Danubian system of decoration, the persistence of which during the Bronze Age is clearly illustrated in pottery from Transylvania and other regions just north of the Danube.

All over Bulgaria there are to be found tumuli or earthworks, although in the north they are to be found principally between the Ostoga River and the Black Sea and in the south to the east of Thredna Gora but especially in the Thracian Plain. Essentially these tumuli are one of two things; they are either dwellings, or they are funeral piles. The first group, the dwellings, are more level than the others and have the form of flattened cones and are to be found in the north in the neighbourhood of Russe, Tirnova and Shumen, and in the south from Pazardjik to the Black Sea, and are generally from 5 to 14 feet high and with a diameter of 70 to 200 feet. When they are excavated fragments of earthenware utensils, flints and animal bones are discovered as well as brass objects, and the general conclusion is that they were the fortified dwellings of a tribe which came to the Balkan Peninsula from Russia about 2500 years B.C. and which disappeared about 1900 B.C. One such tumulus at Bourita near to Kapitan Dimitriev is described in detail by Mr. P. Detev in the 1950 edition of the *Annual Proceedings of the National Archaeological Museum at Plovdiv*. It contained highly ornamented vases and drinking-cups, idols in animal and human form showing considerable skill and artistry, lamps and other articles of the Bronze Age, and showed a population living by hunting and hoe agriculture, living in wooden and earthen dwellings; having an anthropomorphic religion which seems, by the number of images of pregnant women, to have been connected with the cult of the "great mother"; and by their decorative schemes to have been under the influence of Mediterranean civilisation. The funeral piles only appear after the seventh century B.C. and belonged to the Thracians.

If it is true that the movement of peoples, however slow, was continuous, there did, however, emerge in this very early period a specific Balkan-Danube civilisation which, while it reached over into what is now Russia, covered essentially what is now Bulgaria. The existence of megaliths in Bulgaria show that it had strong links at one time with Mediterranean civilisation.

The cultural background to the lands now inhabited by the Bulgarians was formed by many different periods as is abundantly demonstrated by the rich archaeological finds all over the country. These are relics of the Mycenaean epoch, of Greek colonists, of Thracians and Celts and Romans as well as of many tribes. Outstanding both in size and workmanship are the Thracian monuments and monuments of the Roman period. The museums of Sofia and Plovdiv possess superbly wrought vessels of pre-Roman times, which include the gold treasure of Vulchi Trun, the gold vessels found in tumuli near Douvanli and Mezek, and silver vessels from other tumuli. The Kazanlik tomb with its perfectly preserved frescoes of the end of the fourth century B.C. is something unique in Europe. Extremely valuable frescoes were also found at the tomb at Silistra. Recent excavations in Sozopol and Nesseber (Messemvriya) have led to the discovery of several hundred small Greek vases with figures drawn in red and black. Monuments of Roman times have been found in Sofia (formerly Sardica), Plovdiv (formerly Philippopolis), Gigen (formerly Oescus), near Nikopol, and elsewhere. The finest mosaic yet to be found in the eastern part of the Balkans, a Roman work of the second century, was excavated recently at Oescus. The list could be continued almost indefinitely, showing with every addition to it the cross-fertilisation of the cultures which took place in this area throughout the period of ancient civilisations.

As we enter the pages of written history we find in this area a constant movement of peoples. Despite the fact that the Thracians had already settled in the Balkan Peninsula during the first millennium B.C., there seems little doubt that for centuries one wild people after another entered the area, being mainly Celts and Bastarni. Excavations at the Koprinka Dam, west of Kazanlik, have shown a fully developed Thracian settlement of the third or fourth centuries B.C.

### *The Thracians*

The Thracians have their place in the story not only of Bulgaria and the Balkan Peninsula but in the story of Europe. Homer knew them and speaks in the *Iliad* of Thracian swords and of their similarities to the Achaeans, and the influence upon them of Mycenaean civilisation is attested by relics of many kinds; at one time they possessed almost the whole of the Balkan Peninsula although later much of it was taken from them by the Dacians. By the time of Augustus, according to Strabo, there were twenty-two races (or tribes) in Thrace south of the Danube. Other writers, at different periods, speak of nineteen and



forty-three. The Thracians were polygamous and purchased their wives either with money or goods, the unmarried women being allowed a freedom of intercourse with men denied to the married women, and clearly at one time a community of women had been practised. By the time of Herodotus they were certainly divided into social classes, the nobles being warriors and agriculture being left to the commoners. Slavery was also practised not only among the Thracians themselves but, if Herodotus is to be believed, by the Thracians selling their children into slavery to other peoples. By other means as well, such as slave-trading in general and direct abduction, the methods used in Africa in the nineteenth century, the slave markets of Athens and other Greek cities, and later of Rome, were well supplied with Thracians. The social organisation of these tribes was varied: some preserved a tribal organisation until a very late period, others formed minor states, the first known one of which was ruled over by the Odrysian King Teres at the end of the fifth century B.C. in the Hebrus Valley and so important did this state become that its ruler called himself "King of the Thracians" and demanded tribute even from the Greek colonies along the coasts.

This Thracian Kingdom is described for us by such Greek writers as Thucydides and Xenophon. Xenophon himself visited the court of King Seuthes II and has described in detail the elaborate presents which were given to him by his subjects. It seems that the King's power was unlimited although the King and nobles formed a hierarchy which together ruled the country. "Of all the kingdoms in Europe between the Ionian Gulf and the Euxine Sea", wrote Thucydides (*History of the Peloponnesian War*, Book II, 97) "it was the greatest in revenue of money and of general prosperity; but as regards the strength and size of its army, it was distinctly inferior to the Scythian Kingdom". He stressed the readiness both of the Odrysians and of the other Thracians to join any army that was passing their territory in the hope of plunder. Parts of the whole territory were ruled, under the King, by vassal chiefs who from time to time asserted their independence by rebellion and, under the well-known principle of "divide and rule" were often supported in doing so by Athens or, later, by Macedonia. On the other hand in many of the Thracian tribes the institution of kingship did not exist; where it did, however, the Kings do not seem to have doubted their divine origin. The majority of the population lived in open villages although in the backward Dobrudja there were those who lived in underground dwellings and in certain places such as Koprinka, Kabile (near Yambol) and Philippopolis, towns had

grown up as they had also, according to Haecateos, north of the Balkans. Economically the area was rich and it supplied much of the timber for Greek shipbuilding as it supplied wheat to both Athens and South Russia; indeed it was this wheat which led to the first connection between Athens and the Odrysians. Later Athens gained complete control by insisting that merchants who supplied her should export grain to Athens alone, and the later loss of this monopoly was the herald of the decline of Greek predominance.

We know a good deal about Thracian life and manners. Their wine was known to Homer although they also drank beer brewed from barley. They grew onions, garlic, hemp and flax and bred cattle, horses, sheep, goats and pigs. Salt was one of the outstanding commodities which they obtained by a trade which was facilitated by the mining of gold and silver. Clothes were made chiefly from hemp, and Thracian nobles are shown on Greek vases wearing caps of fur, decorated cloaks, and high leather boots. In addition to this they dyed their hair and tattooed their bodies. The men were bearded, and both men and women were given to intoxication both by drink and by hemp smoke. They worshipped a variety of gods, some of local and some of Greek origin; animal sacrifices played a part in their funeral customs as well as the sacrificing over the grave of a deceased man's favourite wife. They had a language which some think was written although no inscriptions have survived and in general writing seems to have been held in contempt among them. They were not unmusical and it has even been held that they were the inventors of the shepherd's pipe. It was of these Thracian tribes that Herodotus said that "if they were only ruled by one man and could only agree among themselves, they would be the greatest among the nations". They did not, however, achieve a unity and the result was that they were not left to themselves, and as the states of Greece began to be powerful their outposts extended to this area and hellenic influence became extremely strong as numerous relics testify. The proudest possession of the Plovdiv Museum is a unique Greek gold drinking service of the fourth century B.C. of superb beauty and workmanship which has no counterpart in the British Museum and which can be compared only with one other set which is to be found in Russia. The present town of Sozopol is the ancient Apollonia which was established about 610 B.C. by Greeks from Miletus who are alleged to have been led there by the philosopher Anaximander; it was a seaport used for taking the wheat of the Crimea to Athens, and the whole area around it was of fundamental importance to Greek economy. The present town of Varna,

again, was built by Milesian Greeks about 585 B.C. The mixed nature of the whole area, indeed, can be seen from all kinds of remains, the Thracian ones being chiefly the tombs, which are sumptuous for the fifth and fourth centuries when the Thracian kingdom was at its height, and more bare for the fourth to third centuries. One of the outstanding Thracian leaders, King Sitalces of the Odrysians whose kingdom was large and whose army was alleged to number 15,000 men, joined in alliance with Athens and in 429 B.C. overran Macedonia, only to be induced by treachery to march home again after thirty days.

It was, eventually, Philip of Macedon whose aggression brought unity to the area and his name was perpetuated in the city of Philipopolis which eventually became Plovdiv.\* The legends have it that this town was first called Eumolpiade after Eumolpe, the pupil of Orpheus. Its yielding to Philip II of Macedon was a reflection of the disunity among the tribes on the one side and of the necessity of a ruler of Macedonia competing for supreme power in the Greek world to protect his own hinterland against disorder. After having built up the power of Macedon, Philip was murdered in 336 B.C. and succeeded by Alexander the Great who, for the same reasons, preceded his second descent upon Greece in 335 B.C. by a campaign in Thrace and Illyria, in the course of which he turned against the Triballi, who had invaded Thrace in 376 B.C., a people whom pressure from the advancing Celts had driven eastward across the Isker into North Bulgaria where they were a constant menace to Macedon. Alexander rapidly defeated the Triballi and reached the Danube but he failed to take the island on which they had lodged their families because of the support being given to them by the Getae. The Getae in turn, however, were routed, the Triballi surrendered and, together with the Celts of the Upper Danube, swore alliance with Alexander. For the rest of the Macedonian period the tribesmen supplied him with soldiers, although in 323 B.C. the Odrysian Prince Seuthes was still fighting against Lysimachus.

The Macedonians succeeded in penetrating into Thrace mainly because Thracian princes were prepared to side with them against rival Thracian princes, although the consummate military skill of the Macedonian leaders played a big part. They were much preoccupied with the question of Thrace and spent much of their time there fighting against and negotiating with a people whose culture and organisation stood comparison with their own. The Macedonian period forms an important part of Thracian history, but never was Thrace replaced by Macedonia.

\* Its Slav name.

In thinking of this Greek period and also of the Roman period which followed, it must never be forgotten that we are not just concerned with Greeks (or Macedonians) or Romans, but essentially with the Thracian tribesmen who because of their less highly developed social and political organisation and technology fell an easy prey to these invaders. Abundant traces of them remain as we have already noted, but for all that they were eventually replaced and, in the long run, Greek culture and Roman law and Roman roads played a more important part in the general history of the country.

As Rome gradually grew to be a major power, and as the might of Greece crumbled before it, there was at first no change in the position of the Thracian tribes; then the hold of Macedonia upon them crumbled and they were left to their own devices until the major Roman irruption into the Balkans which occurred during the Second Punic War (218-201 B.C.) when Rome, although busily fighting Carthage, decided that Thrace must be conquered. The result was to drive the Thracians and Illyrians to combine in self-defence as they had never done before and then there followed a struggle that went on for 150 years in the course of which the Thracians combined, when opportunity offered, with anybody fighting against Rome as, for example, with the Emperor Mithridates, who ruled over Armenia and other territories, although it is to be noted that during the Mithridatic wars there were always some Thracians fighting on the Roman side; their unity was never complete. The result of this disunity made the final outcome inevitable; they first became tributary to Rome, their rulers paying fees in return for their thrones, and eventually the rulers were replaced. In 29 B.C. the area between the Danube and the Balkan range was conquered by Crassus and became later the province of Moesia, while the area farther south became the Province of Thracia. The fight had been a long and a savage one and the spirit it evoked from the Thracian peoples can be guessed from the fact that the famous slave-rising in Italy in 73 B.C. was led by the Thracian Spartacus and that Thracians in general were in the forefront of the movement. Again in the great rebellion in Pannonia in A.D. 6 and 7 the two areas of Moesia and Thracia were held by their governors only with the greatest difficulty, although it was one of the Thracian kings who played a major part in crushing the revolt. Moesia was, in fact, largely peopled with Getae brought across to the Thracian bank of the river in order to increase Roman control. It was finally when the Thracian King Rhometalces III was murdered by his own wife in A.D. 46 or thereabouts that Claudius decided upon annexation, although it cost

him another war to put the policy into effect. War or no war, however, it had to be done, for the sea routes from Moesia and Thrace to Trapezus were of fundamental importance for Roman armies in Armenia and had to be held at all costs, and this was the more important in that the areas were constantly threatened by invasions of the Rescolani and the Darians as well as by rebellion from the Thracians themselves. In 12 B.C. indeed (approximately) they had risen with such determination that it had taken three years to quell them; again in A.D. 21 they had arisen and taken Philippopolis.

To follow in any detail the constant divisions and re-divisions of territory among the native rulers and the changes of Roman policy in the government of this area would be a long and tedious task. Every policy was utilised when it might bring gain, including intermarriage with the local aristocracy, and there was Thracian blood in the veins of Mark Antony himself. A city called Tiberia was established, which was possibly a re-foundation of Philippopolis; Apollonia was granted the favour of a new city wall; a *koinon* (or fellowship) of Thracian cities was established for the worship of the Caesars.

By A.D. 44 it had become clear that the situation in the Balkan Peninsula could only be handled by a unified military command and this was finally achieved. The Roman administration had a considerable effect upon the economic life of the country and, after the time of Trajan, more and more cities sprang up; by the time of Antoninus Pius there was a provincial assembly for Thrace whose president led the Emperor-worship of the province, a practice which was threatened by the Christian organisation spreading from Macedonia and Bithynia. Mining continued under the Empire and the farming and stock-breeding of an earlier period found in the Roman Army a constant market for its surplus produce. The sale of goods was also facilitated by the development of roads, the chief one running from Naissus, through Philippopolis to Hadrianople and on to Byzantium itself. From north to south there were the Philippopolis-Oescus and the Hebrus-Hadrianople-Ister\* roads, and it was along these roads that the new cities sprang up. To balance the force these towns might muster Roman veterans were settled at Philippopolis and all other towns and Roman colonies established on the Black Sea, all these towns being Greek in character, rather than Roman, largely because so many of their inhabitants were neither Romans nor Thracians, but hellenised immigrants from the south and east. Two colonies on the

\* Leading from Enos, via Hadrianople, Kabile, Ankhialo, along the coast to the Lower Danubian road.

coast, Deulium near Bourgas and Marcianopolis near the village of Reka Devnya, had long been more directly Roman.

It is not surprising that Bulgaria today is rich in Roman remains, outstanding among them being the marble pillars removed from Nikopol by Bulgarian kings to decorate the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Tirnovo. Three inscriptions in Moesia Inferior show Quintus Decius, later Governor of Spain, to have been the Governor of the Province in A.D. 234 and they typify the kind of information that may be gathered from thousands of other inscriptions; there are well-preserved Roman baths in Plovdiv (Philippopolis) with interesting mosaics; rich collections of Roman coins have been found in the same city, which under Domitian had been given the right to mint imperial money and many of whose coins show ancient myths such as Styman's daughter, Rhodopi, changed into the Rhodope mountain or Rhodope flowers, or Orpheus enchanting with the music of his lyre wild beasts which lie at his feet, or Bacchus adorned with vine branches and grapes enthroned as the god of the vineyards, or the god Hebraca going down the Maritsa. Part of the wall built round the town by Trajan is still there. Sofia, too, which started life as an ancient Thracian camp and which was captured by Licinus Crassus in 29 B.C. and later became the centre of a colony of veterans established by Trajan, is rich in Roman remains. The list, indeed, could go on indefinitely and there is still much to be learned. From it all we see much of the impact of Roman culture and much of the power of other cultures to survive the Roman impact.

The Thracians were a perpetual menace to the Eastern Empire and there is probably no period in which the land occupied by the Thracians was an unchallenged part of the Empire; and certainly as early as the third century A.D. there began an infiltration of new people into it which was destined to continue for some centuries until, eventually, the Bulgarian people known to modern history were to emerge from it. The Goths, who later were to sack Rome itself, burst into the country in A.D. 238 and 248 and returned in A.D. 250 and 271. Dacians\* were settled south of the Danube to help secure a temporary peace and it is thought by some that it was the Gothic invasions that brought to an end the autonomous coinages of Moesia and Thrace. The attack in A.D. 249 followed the return of the Roman Army of the Danube to Italy and succeeded in breaking in as far as Philippopolis. It brought the Emperor Decius himself to the district and he secured a great victory over the Goths near Nicopolis where they are reported to have

\* They were Romanised Dacians.

lost over 30,000 men. The Goths, however, knew their Balkans by now and when Decius chased them over the Shipka Pass he succeeded in relieving Philippopolis but was taken off his guard while resting his men at the foot of the Balkans and so completely defeated that he had to flee back over the mountains. The Thracian troops under Roman command at this time were utterly unreliable and T. Julius Priscus, the Governor of Philippopolis, was himself disaffected and proclaimed himself Emperor, and joined the Goths. For the time being Thrace was left to them. In A.D. 268 new bands of invaders came up from the Black Sea and again the land was ravaged, although, once more, Philippopolis seems to have put up a redoubtable defence.

When, in the year A.D. 330, Constantine established a second Rome and re-named Byzantium as Constantinople, the Balkan Peninsula was naturally placed in the eastern, or Greek-speaking part of the Empire but was split into two, Thrace being in the Prefecture of the Orient and the rest of the Peninsula in the Prefecture of Illyrium. The Illyrians formed a very heavy percentage of the army which was constantly engaged against the Goths and the Sarmatians. Under Ulfilas, an Arian bishop, the lesser Goths settled in Moesia near Nicopolis and here a Gothic alphabet and an Arian Gothic culture sprang up only to be swept away when the Huns, who at an earlier period of their history seem to have threatened China, swept across the country in the fourth century and razed many of its cities, including Sophia, to the ground. Thereafter they raided; then they almost disappeared but they were to take the stage again in a major way at a later period. For the time being their place was again taken by the Goths (the Visigoths) who fought a war for two years in Lower Moesia and defeated the Empire in the Battle of Hadrianople in A.D. 378, spending years after it in plundering Thrace. At the same time, driven before the Huns, the Ostrogoths broke into Thrace to add to the general confusion.

As the years went by and the Empire was preoccupied with the problem of Persia, the confusion intensified and always Thrace and Illyria were a kind of stalking-horse for bigger prey. They were ravaged by Alaric the Goth till he turned first to Constantinople and then, in A.D. 397, to Italy and the west; the Huns returned under Attila in A.D. 447 on the road which led them to Rome and the taking of tribute from the whole Eastern Empire; after the death of Attila in A.D. 453 the area was flooded with his followers and many of the previous inhabitants were exterminated.

It was in this Roman period that the Balkan Peninsula became an

important centre of Christianity. As early as the fourth century the struggle between Rome and Constantinople for jurisdiction in this area was already beginning and the Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451 had to discuss who had the right to consecrate the Metropolitans of Thrace. Long before this, in A.D. 342, an important Church Council at Sardica had been attended by 170 bishops including the great Athanasius. John Cassian, the famous Abbot of Marseilles, came from the Dobrudja. It needs to be stressed, perhaps, that the early history of Christianity cannot be properly considered unless due attention is paid to the lands which we are discussing.

All that has been written above is no more than a very bare catalogue of a succession of inhabitants of a particular tract of territory in the Balkan Peninsula, so brief as almost to be lacking in meaning. Nevertheless, it is essential that it be noted as a prelude to the history of Bulgaria for two reasons. The first is that, while all the people we have so far mentioned came and went, yet all of them left some traces, and some of them important ones, in either the culture and way of living (Latin, for example, was the chief language of one part of the peninsula for a long period, as Greek was of the other) or else in the bloodstock of the population, and the second is that the enormous period of history we have traversed in these few pages gives us a proper sense of historical perspective and shows us how recent is the history of Bulgaria and how much its people have accomplished in what, against any proper historical background, is a remarkably short space of time.

This observation is made at this point because it is after the Huns that we come to one of the peoples who made a permanent impression on this area and with whose story this book is concerned—the Slavs.

### *The Slavs*

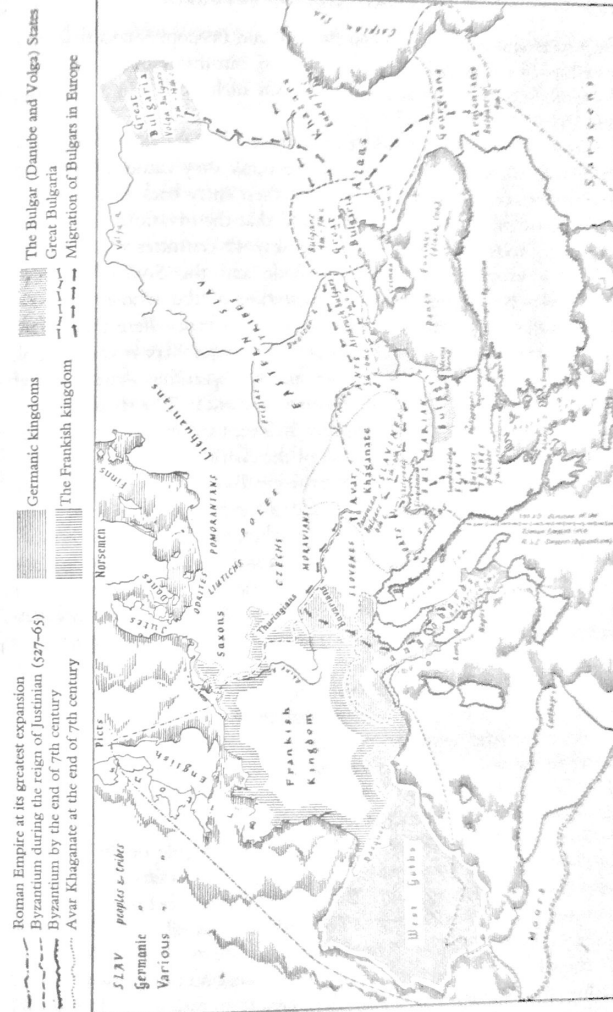
There is no certainty as to the origin of the Slav people and not much more is known of them than that they were an Indo-European people akin to the Germans and the Latvians, who spread into parts of Eastern Europe between the fourth and sixth centuries. The date of their entry into the Balkan Peninsula cannot be precisely determined but the first invasions seem to have taken place at the beginning of the sixth century. They came into the provinces of Thrace and Illyria as settlers, having previously appeared on the frontiers of the Empire in the first centuries A.D. In the sixth century there were Slav generals in the Roman service and the names of Slav towns are known to us from the same century. By the middle of the seventh century the Slavs



formed the main bulk of the population throughout the Balkan Peninsula.

At the time of their entry into the peninsula the Slavs were a people who lived in villages in the river valleys, understood the use of the hoe, and whose diet included millet and corn. Their domestic animals included horses, cows, pigs, sheep, and goats, and their search for food included fishing and hunting as well as collecting honey. Between the fourth and seventh centuries they developed numerous crafts including the making of pottery on wheels, the use of metal for knives, axeheads, arrowheads, fish-hooks, and weaving. Their first small towns were commercial centres in which silversmiths and goldsmiths figured prominently, and between them and the east there arose a considerable trade which perhaps began with the export of slaves and went on to the export of bread. In addition to travel by land they used canoes made from tree-trunks and primitive boats in the sea. Between the fourth and sixth centuries their clan relationships were breaking up and family relationships were developing. The only political unit they admitted was the tribe, and the idea of kingship, with the subordination it implied, was abhorrent to them. They were organised in many tribes, each of which was independent, and only in extreme necessity for purposes of defence were they ever driven to unite into major groups. Each tribe was governed by a local assembly presided over by a chief who seems to have been selected from one range of families; the germ of aristocracy was there, and as inequality of possessions developed it became a marked institution which was accompanied by slave owning. The nobility were enriched by prolonged wars with neighbouring States, especially Byzantium, and it was the captives from these wars who formed the chief slave population. Ransom was permitted.

By the seventh century a league of seven Slav tribes had come into existence at a time when social classes were beginning to emerge and a State organisation was growing around the chieftain. The older customs, however, still gave a dignified place to women in social life and every family was a property-owner and bound to maintain all its members unless they were expelled from it for grave social reasons. Only by skill in the art of warfare could this community survive and their methods were essentially those of guerrillas, the only ones that could hope to win against the disciplined Roman levies. The army was mainly composed of foot soldiers but had some horsemen and was equipped with carts to take home its plunder. It fought with bows and poisoned arrows and axes and defended itself with shields. In religion



I. FOUNDATION OF BULGARO-SLAV STATE  
(Europe circa 681)

they were animist, worshipping Peroun, and Procopius says that they worshipped one god, the lord of lightning, but this is an exaggeration because they worshipped also other gods such as Svarog, Dajdbog, and Vlas.

There is much disagreement as to precisely when the Slavs first came into the Balkan Peninsula. Some think they came in the sixth and seventh centuries, while others put their entry back into the very early part of the Christian era, and add that the invasions which undoubtedly took place in the sixth and seventh centuries were but the end of a process. The Czech Niederle and the Soviet Byzantist Levchenko both think that the penetration of the whole peninsula came at the end of the fifth century. There is much here that is disputable, but what is not in doubt is that a major Slav invasion took place in the fifth and sixth centuries and the Byzantine writers of that period provide a good deal of information about it. The strong probability is that, whatever had happened before, this was the time of the real and important Slav occupation of the Baltic Peninsula.

The Balkan Slavs are first mentioned in Byzantine writings in A.D. 527. From the time of Justinian Huns, Avars and Slavs were raiding continuously, and at one time, as under Heraclius, the Slav settlement south of the Danube was welcomed by the Empire as a defence against the more dangerous Avars, but if they came then as approved colonists under Roman rule, later they became independent and displaced the Thracians and Illyrians south of the Danube. The mass invasion began in A.D. 527 and it soon became necessary for Justinian to establish defence towns, and a number of fortified towns were created from Singudum (Belgrade) to the Black Sea. It seems that the Slav invaders were often supported by the oppressed population of the Empire and Procopius refers to the population running away in a mass to the "barbarians". The Slavs had obviously become acquainted with Byzantine military technique and were able to overcome fortresses.

While the Slavs were becoming the settled people of the Balkans, south of the Danube far away another people of Turanian race, speaking the Turkish language, the Bulgars, were living between the Urals and the Volga, whence they had come from Central Asia. They were a people vastly different from the Slavs in their way of life, and were governed autocratically by rulers called Khans, and organised for war rather than settlement. Unlike the Slavs they fought on horseback, and again unlike the Slavs, lived almost wholly on meat. They were polygamous, their women were veiled, and their men wore the wide trousers of Asia, and turbans over their shaved heads. Their chief deity

was Tangra, the supreme god of the sky, whom they worshipped without the aid of priests. They lived by war. By the fourth century this Bulgar people had reached the Volga, and some time during the century their federation split in two groups, one the Utiguri, and the other the Kutiguri, and it is these latter, the more powerful of the two, who formed a State on the north coast of the Black Sea from which they threatened the Eastern Roman Empire. They warred constantly against it, and there seems little doubt but that they had infiltrated the Slav people in the Balkans before their final, and successful, invasion, although their Black Sea State was thoroughly destroyed by the Avars in A.D. 560. The Utiguri group had remained farther east, and were subject to the Avars for only a few years before they moved on, and they it was who, in A.D. 582, recovering their independence, revived the Bulgar fortunes, and formed a State on the Volga which was known as Great (or Black) Bulgaria. Although this State came to an end in the middle of the seventh century some of the Bulgar tribes continued to inhabit the land along the lower reaches of the Volga and survived there until the thirteenth century, after having embraced Mahomedanism in the early decades of the tenth century. It was from Great Bulgaria that there came a tribe or group of tribes who gradually moved west and began to assume a mixed Bulgar-Slavic character.

In the mid-sixth century these invaders, called Huns by the Byzantine writers, became of great importance, and in A.D. 549 they reached Constantinople and the Adriatic. Already Thracia had been pillaged in A.D. 535. Now there were further waves of invasion in A.D. 541 and 542, and in A.D. 559, under the Khan Zabergan, they reached Constantinople and took ransom from Justinian. In the sixties the Turkish hordes of the Avars were in Pannonia; in A.D. 578 a Slav mass over a thousand strong invaded Byzantium and destroyed Thracia. It was in reply to this that the Emperor Tiberius called in the Khan of the Avars who destroyed and burnt Slav settlements. Despite this there was a further Slav invasion in A.D. 581, and in A.D. 584 they besieged Thessalonica, and a few years later penetrated the Peloponnese. Some of them joined forces with the Avars. Thessalonica was again besieged in A.D. 597. By the beginning of the seventh century a part of the Balkan Peninsula had been conquered by the Slavs, but in the western part fighting was still going on, aided by the Avars, in A.D. 617 and 626. In A.D. 584 the leadership of the invasion had been taken by a family of the Dulo dynasty, the new Khan, Kubrat or Kurt, being a child. This Khan reigned for fifty-five years, and for a time had friendly



relations with the Emperor Heraclius. It was one of the sons of Kubrat, named Asperuch (or Isperih), who led his section of the people westward, and reached Bessambia and the Danube Delta in the 660s. In A.D. 680-1 he engaged in a successful campaign against the Empire and then, in A.D. 681, crossed the Danube. It was from this moment that the real history of the Bulgarian State began.

## CHAPTER 2

## THE FIRST AND SECOND KINGDOMS

(A.D. 679-A.D. 1396)

WHEN Asperuch crossed the Danube in 681 he knew exactly what he proposed to do. It was his intention to settle in this territory and to do this he had to subdue the Slavonic tribes; but having done so it was absolutely necessary for him in fact to enter into an alliance with them in order on the one hand to prevent the newly acquired territory simply becoming the scene of petty wars and disputes between his leading followers against whom he needed strong allies, and on the other hand to safeguard the territory against the threats which would inevitably come from the Byzantine Empire. The first item in this programme was soon fulfilled. The seven Slavonic tribes in Moesia yielded rapidly, partly no doubt because as warriors they were quite unable to compete with the fierce and martial Bulgars, and partly because they were themselves in need of defence against Byzantium. Asperuch began to build his own defences against the Empire and, according to an Arabian story, he went so far as to build along the entire frontier a thorn hedge provided with wooden windows through which it was possible to shoot. This story came three centuries after the event and really refers to a much later period, but it is certain that Asperuch used the Slavs to man his frontiers against the Avars in the west and against the Romans in the south, whilst the tribe of the Severs was left to guard the Eastern Balkan pass of Vergava.\* Only when these preparations were completed did he, with sound tactical sense, set out towards the Byzantine lands to the south of the Balkans, attacking and destroying the local garrisons. They were reduced one by one and so solid was Asperuch's success that Constantine,† although this new kingdom had been founded within the bounds of his Empire, was compelled to make a treaty with Asperuch which not only guaranteed the independence of the Bulgarian Kingdom, but paid it an annual tribute in consideration for its not invading the adjacent territory of Thrace.

The new Bulgarian Kingdom was at first based on the settled

\* Probably the modern Varbishki Pass.

† Constantine IV.

agriculture of the Slavs and settled itself in the present-day Dobrudja and the ancient Lower Moesia, making the old Slav settlement, Pliska, its capital. Preslav on the Kamcija and Drasta (the Roman Durostorum and modern Silistria) on the Danube were also utilised, and for over two centuries the Bulgarian Kingdom continued in this area. As it did so, following the deliberate policy of its ruler, the Bulgarians began to adopt the settled ways of the Slavs and to become infused with them by inter-marriage and, although the combined people are known to history as the Bulgarians, the language they adopted was that of the Slavs and by this policy the threat to the future of the kingdom which came from the rivalries and ambitions of Asperuch's lieutenants was successfully averted.

The Bulgars, as the ruling oligarchy, maintained themselves for a relatively long time, but being greatly outnumbered by the local Slav tribes, were gradually assimilated, adopting their language but leaving behind their own ethnic name.

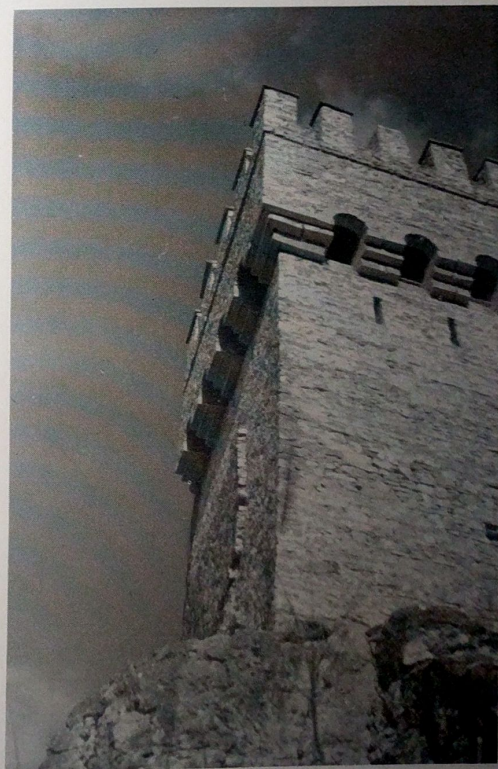
This internal consolidation went on over a long period, but to the fact that it began immediately the safety of the kingdom was due, for Constantine's heir, Justinian II, having succeeded to the throne, refused to pay the tribute to which his father had agreed and ordered his cavalry in Asia Minor to Thrace to lead captive the Bulgarians and the Slavs, and in 688 he himself took the field, defeated the Bulgars, and then turned against the Slavs of Thessalonica. The Bulgarian defeat, however, was not a serious one and as Justinian was returning from the expedition he was in turn attacked by the Bulgars and narrowly escaped a serious defeat. For the rest of the reign of Asperuch each side watched the other, but abstained from attack. Towards 701 Asperuch died and was succeeded by Tervel.

With Tervel began an entirely new Bulgarian policy towards Constantinople which arose from the fact that Constantinople itself was changing. In 695 the Emperor Justinian was deposed and exiled to the Cherson. Thereafter emperor after emperor was violently deposed. With struggles for the throne going on within the Empire, Justinian succeeded in escaping from his place of exile, and made his way to the court of Tervel whom he asked for help to win back his throne. In return he offered a political alliance and his daughter to wife.

The glittering prospects which were thus opened to the new Bulgarian Kingdom by a marriage alliance with the house of a possible Byzantine emperor were more than could be refused: the expedition against Constantinople was planned in Bulgaria in the winter of 704-5, and in the spring Justinian, Tervel and a large Bulgarian and Slav army

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THE CYRILLIC ALPHABET  
From an early manuscript



BALDWIN'S TOWER  
IN TIRNOVO

(Baldwin was Count of Flanders and the first Emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople set up by the Crusaders)





THE WALLS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FORTRESS OF KING ASEN



marched on Constantinople, which they took by guile without a struggle and Tervel went home with the title of Caesar (or Tsar)\* and much wealth. But no wife. Needless to say Justinian did not long hold his throne and when he was replaced by the dissolute Armenian, Philippicus, in the supposed cause of revenging his ally Justinian, Tervel led an army against the Empire and pillaged down to the Bosphorus. So the internal struggles of the Byzantine Empire facilitated the consolidation of the Bulgarian State as an important political factor in the south-east of the Balkan Peninsula.

When Leo the Isaurian succeeded to the imperial throne in 717 he had immediately to deal with a major attack of the Saracens led by Suleiman and it is of profound interest that the Bulgarians were far-sighted enough to make common cause with the Byzantines and, indeed, to strike the final blow at the expedition, slaying, according to Byzantine historians, some 22,000 Saracens. In doing this Tervel was acting in the spirit of a treaty he had made with the previous Emperor, Theodosius III, which laid down some sort of frontier, provided for a yearly payment to Tervel of robes and skins to the value of 30 lb. of gold, for an exchange of prisoners and for free interchange of properly accredited merchants with their merchandise.

Tervel died in 718, having done much to consolidate the new kingdom and having pushed its frontiers farther south over the Haemus almost to the mountains of Rhodope. Of his successor, who reigned till 725, we know not even the name, and of his successor, the Khan Sevar, we know only his name, and that he reigned until 740. With him a dynasty died and there followed a fight between the *boyars* for the Khanship which was also a fight between two policies, not, as has been sometimes suggested, a pro- and anti-imperial policy, but between one policy of consolidating the kingdom by a concord with the Empire, and the other of extending the kingdom by war with the Empire. For sixteen years under Kormishosh the former and wiser policy prevailed until he was so threatened by forts manned by captured Armenians that the Emperor Constantine V had built on his frontier that he was driven to attack them. At first successful, he was soon routed and died in 756. Constantine then counter-attacked, marched into Bulgaria and attacked the new Khan Vinekh who seems to have won a major victory in 759, but then to have suffered an overwhelming defeat at Marcellae† in 761 (probably). This defeat cost

\* Tsar is, of course, simply a derivation from Caesar. During the time of Tervel it was only one title among others.

† This is probably to be located at the ruins which are to be seen near the town of Polyanovgrad (formerly Karnobat).

him his throne and his life, and a rebellion placed Telets in power who alienated many of the Slavs by trying to impress them into his army, with the result that over 200,000 of them left Bulgaria to settle elsewhere in the Empire. Despite this Telets waged a well-organised campaign in Thrace; but the Empire had greater powers of organisation, and Telets was defeated at Ankhialo in June, 763. Within a year he was murdered by his disorganised followers.

A son-in-law of Kormishosh, Sabin, taking the place of Telets, began by attempting to negotiate peace and then had to flee to the Emperor to secure himself from the wrath of his belligerent subjects, who saw in his negotiations a threat to hand over the kingdom to the Empire. He left behind him as a ruler one Umar, who was rapidly dethroned and replaced by Toktu. He in turn was attacked by Constantine V and had to flee with his followers to the mountains and forests. Pagan then came to the throne and tried to take an independent position between these two groups of the military aristocracy. Receiving the support of neither of them, he was compelled to sue for peace with the Empire. He met with a refusal, was attacked by the Empire and then went to negotiate personally with the Emperor to find the former Khan Sabin present at the interview. Peace was agreed but subsequently the Emperor broke it and burst into a virtually undefended Bulgaria and laid it waste. Pagan was forced to flee and was assassinated while in flight. Those who stood for the independence of the country then placed Khan Telerig on the throne who was soon subjected to mighty attacks from the Empire. In the year 773 the campaign was unsuccessful. Another followed in 774, despite the treaty of perpetual peace which had followed the previous campaign. After this Telerig secured a victory by discovering and executing all the imperial intelligence agents, and then, in 775, Constantine himself died, just as he was about to embark upon a further campaign against Bulgaria. Thereafter there was peace for a much subdued Bulgaria, still a prey to internal dissension, so that in 777 Telerig had to flee the country.

During the reign of the Empress-Regent Irene and her son, Constantine VI, the situation took a new turn. The Bulgarian Khan Kardam (777-802) annihilated an imperial force that reconnoitred into his territory, and when Constantine himself led a campaign of revenge he was immediately routed; he was again defeated a year later and, after another indecisive campaign, there was peace, but the Bulgars had had the better of the struggle and the whole situation had changed.

Bulgaria was emerging from anarchy but the extent of this anarchy should never be exaggerated. If the Bulgarian Kingdom had begun with an uneasy alliance between Slav and Bulgar, the two were now merging together and had shown themselves capable not only of great feats of organisation, but of cultural association as well as political and military opposition to that city which not only inherited what the Roman Empire had to give but had developed a vital new culture of its own whose contribution to world civilisation has yet to be fully acknowledged. Greek was the language which the new Bulgarian Kingdom used in negotiation and which is found in a colloquial form in its memorial tablets. Its new buildings, which were as yet few, were in the Byzantine style and from Constantinople it took military engines and used them against it. It continued to use its pagan chronological system of a twelve-year annual cycle, brought from Central Asia. Only later did it begin to adopt the Byzantine cycle of indiction.

At the same time, defeated as it had been by the Empire, it was now beginning to drive the Avars to the west and to include within itself parts of Hungary including parts of the territories which later became Wallachia. Its north-western frontier stretched far to the west, to the mouth of the River Sava, including territories which later were occupied by Serbian tribes. It had to watch carefully the advance of the Franks to the Middle Danube.

Much of Bulgarian history at this time is obscure. The Khan Kardam died, we know, in 802-3 and was succeeded by Khan Krum who was one of the most outstanding leaders that early Bulgaria ever produced, although we know nothing of his origin or how he secured his position. What we do know of him is that leading the separate section of the Bulgarian people that formed a small enclave in the Central European Plain in Transylvania, he took the chance of a Frankish attack on the Avars to accomplish their destruction and that by 808 he was firmly established on the Bulgarian throne in the Balkans; by this fusion a Bulgarian Kingdom was now established from the Tisza and the Sava to the Black Sea. Krum it was who attacked and destroyed Sardica, later to become the Bulgarian capital and to be known as Sofia. The Emperor Nicephorus I, who had succeeded Irene in 802, tried to prevent Krum extending his rule over the Slavs in the southern and south-western parts of the peninsula as well as in a north-western direction which would have led to the creation of a powerful state at the very gate of the Byzantine Empire. The conquest of Sardica opened the route for the Bulgars to the Macedonian Slavs. To prevent the fusion of the two, Nicephorus did two things; he avenged Sardica by



taking Pliska, Krum's capital, and he shifted population *en masse* from other parts of the Empire into Macedonia. But this was not enough: if the Empire was to be saved Bulgaria must be thoroughly destroyed and so Nicephorus determined. In order to preserve his Empire and sap the power of the Bulgarian State, Nicephorus shifted population *en masse* from the Byzantine provinces in Asia Minor to the southern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Out to avenge the fall and destruction of Sardica, he undertook in June-July 811 a campaign against the capital of the Bulgarian State. So ominous, indeed, were his preparations, that Krum was driven to sue for peace. Nicephorus, however, decided otherwise, and insisted upon war. He marched into Bulgaria; he destroyed; he ravaged the capital; then he allowed himself to be ambushed in a mountain pass and on 26 July 811, the imperial army was massacred. Nicephorus was killed, the Khan Krum lined his skull with silver and used it as a drinking-cup. The victory over the morale of the Empire was enormous. The Byzantine Army suffered another major defeat on its way back and this contributed much to the safety and consolidation of the Bulgarian State.

Only later, in 812, did Krum follow up his victory and attack the new Emperor Michael I, march into Thrace and capture the fortress of Develtus. After this, Michael failed to recapture the city, there was a general flight from the frontier forts and even Philippopolis itself was left half deserted. The way was open for Krum but he did not rush in; instead of advancing with the sword he sent in ambassadors to demand a renewal of the treaty of 716 as the price of his abstaining from attacking. That the stage had so soon been reached when the Bulgarians were laying down terms to the Empire is not only a striking tribute to their success but is of a profound historical significance almost universally underestimated or ignored in our western textbooks. In the event Constantinople refused a treaty on the grounds that Krum insisted on the return of Bulgarian deserters who the Byzantine Government wished to use against Bulgaria, and so he marched into Messembria in October 812. He laid siege to the city and, with the aid of an Arab engineer, took it within a few weeks and went home with much plunder.

The Emperor now decided that if he was to remain an emperor, indeed if there was to be an Empire, he must attack, and in 813 he led a major army into Thrace, compelled Krum to retreat, forced a pitched battle at Versinje, and then found when he ordered the attack on 22 June, a fateful date in history, that his army, comprised mainly of Thracians, Macedonians and Armenians, melted away. Outnumbered

by ten to one the Bulgarian Army won the victory and then set out to march into Constantinople itself. On 17 July "the new Sennacherib" as men called him, arrived at the walls of Constantinople and set out to parley with the new Emperor, Leo the Armenian, who had replaced Michael on the field of Versinje.

A meeting was arranged at which Leo hoped to gain a victory by the old-fashioned diplomatic method of assassination, but failed of his purpose, and then had to pay the price as the irate Krum set out to wreak a terrible vengeance. Outside the city everything was set on fire, houses, churches, towns and villages; great sculptures from the imperial palace of Saint Mammars were packed up to take back to Pliska; there was a general massacre; fortresses were levelled; Adrianople was taken and, as the Khan retired, all men who crossed his path were put to the sword and all women, children and cattle rounded up to re-stock Bulgaria. Fifty thousand captives were taken home as well as the general plunder.

At home Krum embarked upon the preparation of engineering an assault to capture Constantinople itself, while a frightened Emperor sent off envoys in 814 to ask Louis, Emperor of the West, to attack the Bulgarians in the rear. Then, on 13 April 814, Krum died, having raised Bulgaria to the position of one of the most important states in Europe, not simply by military prowess, but also by sound, if severe, government. He seems to have done much to secure justice between a man and his accuser, to have suppressed robbery and drunkenness, and to have taken account of the state of the poor. Above all, it is to be noted that he kept his territory secure by not being over-ambitious in extending it and, however far afield he travelled to assault his enemies, always he returned to his own territory. Not all rulers have been so wise.

When he died there was a short, sharp struggle for the succession won for a brief time by Ditzeng or Tsok. It is a period of history about which there is much confusion and it is not known whether they were relatives of Krum or usurpers. Shortly, however, whoever it was became blind and was soon afterwards killed, and Omurtag, the son of Krum, came to the throne. After Krum's death the Emperor Leo V had made an offer of peace, which was rejected. Bulgarian forces invaded the Empire and were defeated, and large numbers of Bulgarian captives were sent to Constantinople for execution. This episode caused serious unrest among the Byzantine captives in Bulgaria and Ditzeng or Tsok sought to secure the safety of Bulgaria by taking heavily oppressive measures against them and inflicted cruel deaths on

Archbishop Manuel of Odrin (Edirne or Adrianople) and other leaders. This did nothing to settle the matter and Omurtag took even stronger measures and gave the captives the alternatives of abandonment of Christianity or execution. Many bishops, priests and others died as a result. Omurtag also had to secure the safety of the country by making a peace with the Emperor Leo which was scheduled to last for thirty years. The treaty laid down a frontier from Develtus "between the two rivers".\* It went along the boundary trench Erkesia, reached the upper stream of the River Choban-Asmak, went between that river and the Tundja River, along the water shed of the Saka Mountain, reached the Maritsa River to the north of Harmanli, continued westward to Macrolivada (Uzundjova) and then went up the mountain peaks of Eastern Rhodope, and from there on cannot be traced with complete certainty. The Emperor was to keep the Slav tribes that had belonged to him before the war; other tribes and their members were to be sent back to the Bulgars. In substance this was a repetition of the treaty of 716 but this time, and it is indicative of the change that had taken place, both the monarchs swore to the treaty by the gods of the other, the Christian Byzantine by the pagan gods of the Bulgars, and the Bulgars by the God of the Christians.

Peace and friendship were wholly in the interests of the Bulgars and the only occasion during his reign that Omurtag resorted to arms was when he went to assist the Byzantine Emperor, Michael II, against a rebel. For the rest, his reign was a period of construction. He built the palace of Pliska, and a tomb at a castle in the Danube, as well as much else. An inscription at Chatalar† tells us: "the sublime Khan Omurtag is divine ruler in the land where he was born". "Dwelling in the camp of Pliska, he made a palace on the Tutsa Ticha (Kamchia) and increased his power against the Greeks and the Slavs. And he skilfully made a bridge over the Tutsa. . . . And he set up in his fortress four columns, and between the columns two bronze lions". "May God grant the divine ruler that he press down with his foot the Emperor so long as the Tutsa flows and the enemies of the Bulgars are controlled; and may he subdue his foes and live in joy and happiness for a hundred years". The date of the foundation is in the Bulgarian *Shegor alem*, and in the Greek the fifteenth indiction (821). Later this fortress came to be known as Preslav, "the glorious". Something of the story of its building is mentioned in the inscription.

\* According to Runciman, the two rivers are probably the Tundja and the Choban-Asmak, and Macrolivada is Uzundzhova, while the mountain range is the Haemus.

† Krumovo.

If the language used in this inscription is Greek, and if the architecture of the fortress was largely Byzantine, yet the Bulgarian rulers were fundamentally opposed to the Christian religion which they regarded as a phenomenon of the Byzantine Empire and therefore hostile, and persecuted it accordingly. It is nevertheless from this period that Bulgarian Christianity really dates, and with it Byzantine influence spread steadily. Involved as they were throughout the ninth century in wars with the Byzantine Empire, the Bulgarian Khans constantly carried off Christians as their captives, some of them being monks and clergy, and it is by them that the Bulgars were instructed in Christianity. When Adrianople was captured by Krum in 813, the Bulgarians captured a bishop who was one such instructor; before long he was martyred but his work was continued at a later date by a captive monk, Theodore Kouphras, but without great success. Later in the century, according to a legend, somewhere about 861, the Empress Theodora redeemed this monk in exchange for the sister of the Bulgarian Prince Boris who had been captured in early life, taken to Constantinople, and who became a Christian, and it is with this princess and Boris that later we must take up the real story of Bulgaria and Christianity.

In the meantime other important developments were afoot, for Bulgaria had now met the west of Europe. Alarmed by the advance of Louis, the prince of the Frankish Kingdom, who was advancing into Pannonia, a Bulgarian embassy made its way to Germany in 824 to propose a frontier agreement: it was sent back with Louis' own envoys to test out the ground. In 826 Omurtag again sent to Louis and received no adequate answer; then in 827 he invaded Pannonia and imposed his governor upon the Slav people of the district. A counter-invasion by the Franks availed nothing and in 829 the Bulgarians swept across Pannonia and appointed their own governors. Not until 832, after the death of Omurtag (in 831), was a peace concluded which was highly advantageous to the Bulgars.

Of the three sons of Omurtag, it was the youngest, Malamir, who succeeded to the throne and reigned for five years (831-6), when he was succeeded by Pressian (836-52). For the larger part of these reigns there was peace, with minor skirmishes in Macedonia, where the Bulgars were beginning to spread and to settle. They annexed the territory around the imperial fortresses of Philippopolis and Sardica. In 845 they achieved a peace with Louis which freed their hands in dealing with the Emperor who was steadily supporting the infant power of the Serbs as a counter-balance to Bulgaria. Eventually, in



839, the Bulgars invaded Serbia, only to be compelled to return home in 842 having gained nothing.

In 846 the Thirty Years Truce came to an end and Pressian at once set out to implement the cornerstone of his policy, which was extension into Macedonia. He invaded that territory, and when the Emperor counter-attacked in Thrace, he seized Philippopolis. After this there was a truce; and the Bulgarians continued to penetrate into Macedonia. Pressian's own brother was converted to Christianity, as were already many of the ordinary people, and was put to death.

In 852 Pressian died and was succeeded by Boris who at once threatened the Empress Theodora and secured a slight and favourable revision of his southern frontier in that war. This done he turned north and invaded unsuccessfully the Frankish territory of Croatia. He also waged an unsuccessful war against Serbia. Fundamentally, however, this reign is important for more than successful war. Boris was faced on the one hand by the rising power of his *boyars*, and on the other by the increasing predominance of the Slav part of his population. If the great part of the people still lived in free peasant communities, a commercial class was arising in the towns and there was a growing trade in salt and other commodities. Trade and culture were necessarily dependent upon an alien Greek language, and art and architecture were necessarily Greek; the old pagan customs of the Bulgarians themselves were in studied and bizarre contrast to these Byzantine ways.

It was in these circumstances that Boris made a major decision of state which had a profound and far-reaching effect on Bulgarian history. It must have been overwhelmingly clear to him that the days of paganism were done as it was certainly clear that it was failing completely to unify the Bulgarian people, and unless they were united they not only had no hope of continuing to be a powerful force in Europe, they had no hope of survival at all. Nor was this the only problem with which Boris was confronted: with the growing power of Serbia on one side of him he was feeling strongly the pressure both of the Byzantine Empire and now also of the Western or Frankish Empire. The time had come to make an entirely new move which would lead not only to the increased unity of the Bulgarian people, but to a total cultural transformation. Boris therefore declared that Bulgaria would cease to persecute Christianity and would accept it. Even so the major question remained of the form in which it would be accepted.

We have seen that Christianity had already made occasional incursions into Bulgaria, so that not only the rulers but no small number of

its people must by now have been aware of at least its leading ideas. Paulicians had been brought in from Armenia, and a large part of the Slav world, and especially Moravia under its ruler Rotislav, was at this moment turning to Christianity.

The danger now was that Boris, in opposition to Byzantium, would adopt the Roman form of Christianity and so link the fortunes of his country with Germany, and negotiation with Louis shows that at one time he was strongly tempted to this solution. To this danger both his Moravian enemies and the Empire were alive and Michael III was ready to make war on Bulgaria rather than that this should happen. Boris, however, needed little prompting and readily agreed to accept Orthodox Christianity from Byzantium and with it the jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch and, in return for this, he received some slight extension of his territory. He was baptized in 865 under the name of Michael, the Emperor Michael acting as his sponsor. The political motivation for the conversion does not, of course, stand alone, and there is no reason to disbelieve the story that his converted sister and the captive monk Theodore Kouphras succeeded at last in persuading him during a famine that this was the proper step to take; nor is there reason to disbelieve the story that a ruler who ended his days in a monastery was deeply influenced by the painting of the Last Judgment of the Greek artist Methodius.\* The nature of the Christianity that Boris and his entourage imbibed can be seen by a letter sent to him by the Patriarch Photius which urged upon him perseverance in the Christian life and zeal for the conversion of his people; and which expounded Christian faith and morals at some length and gave a history of Church Councils (an important point of difference with the Church of Rome). On morals there was a passage of importance:

Concerted insurrections which cannot easily be suppressed, it is the better plan to ignore and allow to be forgotten rather than to attempt to suppress them by force. For the effect of the contrary course is often only to add fuel to the fire, and to cause serious changes, and great damage even after the victory has been won; but appeasing the storm by gentle measures avoids both the danger and the injury while it promotes humanity and wisdom.

This was civilised counsel but it went unheeded. Boris compelled a change of religion which was unpopular not with the mass of the people but with the *boyars* who were in any case alarmed at the increasing threats to their separate interests. They revolted, and Boris

\* It hardly needs saying that not all historians would accept these stories, although it cannot be denied that they are almost contemporary.

was surrounded in his palace at Pliska. He managed to escape and with a small force he counter-attacked and was victorious. The rebellion was bloodily suppressed and fifty-two nobles, together with their wives and children, were executed, although the commoners who had followed them were spared. Boris was still pressing his own ideas and was by no means satisfied with the concessions he had obtained from Constantinople having really set out to secure an independent status for the Bulgarian Church, being anxious to guard against Bulgarian Church unity becoming simply a vehicle of Byzantine political and cultural influence. Whether because he was seeking a real alternative or whether as a diplomatic threat, Boris in 866 entered into communications with the Pope who at once sent two bishops to Bulgaria, but in fact proved even less willing than the Patriarch to allow any ecclesiastical independence to the country, and in general the letter of the Pope is remarkable for its frank speaking. It condemned the cruelty of Boris in making the innocent suffer with the guilty, it condemned forcible conversion and it denounced as a violation of good manners the practice of the King sitting to eat at a separate table apart even from his wife. The letter succeeded; the Greek clergy were expelled from Bulgaria, but the promised archbishop did not materialise; changes in Pope and Emperor and Patriarch led to a Council in Constantinople in 869, and Bulgaria got its archbishop and ten bishops, but from the Orthodox and not the Roman Church.

It is at this point in the story that there stepped on to the stage of European history two brothers, Constantine (more widely known by his religious name of Cyril) and Methodius, the sons of an imperial official both of whom embraced Christianity fervently, and were trained in monasteries. Their early story included missions to the Arabs and to the Khazars in the Crimea, and, under Photius, they held important posts in Constantinople. They were the kind of men whose lives were divided between libraries and the field of action and who combined in an unusual degree great learning, executive ability and a zeal for adventure and a readiness to accept hardship. They it was, therefore, who were sent by Photius when Rotislav of Moravia applied to him for emissaries to teach Christianity to his people. But they did not go to the Moravians in particular and to the Slavs in general as the agents of a Byzantine and an alien culture; they invented themselves a written Slav language (Cyrillic)\* and the rest of their lives was spent in propagating Christianity among the Slavs on the one side, and in conducting a diplomatic battle on the other, the front of which veered

\* Their precise achievement was the invention of the Glagolitic alphabet.

between Rome and Constantinople, for the right of Slav Christians to use a Slav Liturgy and have the Gospels in their own tongue. They were tried for heresy in Venice; by consummate diplomacy they won through in Rome. Cyril died in Rome and Methodius went to the diocese of Sirmium on the Bulgarian border and was imprisoned by the German bishops for intruding upon what they regarded as their territory. A new Pope, John VIII, released him from prison, but forbade the use of the Slav Liturgy. Methodius ignored the order and continued his work while the Pope poured threats and maledictions into Bulgaria for its refusal to submit to Rome, some of which were politely answered while the situation remained unchanged. Photius by this time was again Patriarch, and a further Council which was attended by Romans, was held in Constantinople in 879, when the disputed question of the Bulgarian Church was submitted to the Emperor for arbitration and he graciously handed it over to Rome. Some historians have affected to regard this with surprise, but they are historians who have never taken the measure of Byzantine diplomacy, for Boris knew, as Photius knew when he allowed the matter to go before the Emperor, that whatever decision was taken the result would remain the same; the Bulgarians had made their choice and would stand by it, and this was indeed the case.

At this time Bulgarian Christianity was still Greek, and the assistance of Constantinople in church building, in art and in administration, was having a profound effect upon Bulgaria; but now in 865 Methodius first visited Constantinople where it seems that the result of his visit was a Slav school and then, returning to Moravia, died in 885. Moravia by now was strongly under Latin and German influence and the death of Methodius was the signal for a final attack on his work and the imprisonment of his followers, the leaders of the Slavonic Church, Gorazd, Clement, Naoum, Angelari, Laurentius and Sabbas. Later many among them including the leaders were released, some to be sold into slavery, and others to be banished. Clement, Naoum, Angelari and others were taken to the Danube and then turned loose. The obvious place for them to go was Bulgaria, and there they went and were thus re-united to some of their followers who had been redeemed from the slave markets of Venice by the Emperor. From this time on Bulgaria became the trustee and guardian of Slav Christianity, of the Slav language, and of a Slav culture.

The advent of the Slav clergy naturally produced certain difficulties and the solution adopted seems to have been in the main to allow the Greek clergy to predominate at court and send the Slav clergy to the

people, which was, of course, where their real work had to be done. Clement himself, and upon him had fallen the mantle of Cyril and Methodius, was sent to Macedonia, Boris being clearly determined that Christianity should cement the binding of the Macedonians to the Bulgars in one Slav State. In 893-4 he became the first Bishop of Ochrida although he also presided over other bishoprics and moved round from house to house. Beyond this he had a certain official seniority to the local governor, Dometa, who was newly appointed, and exercised a predominating influence in the entire area. He was a scholar of ability and he laid the foundations of a Bulgarian literature which made it possible for the Slav world really to assimilate what Byzantine culture could give it. Our main knowledge of him comes from a Greek *Life* which was written by Bishop Theophylact of Ochrida when he was defending the claims of his See against the encroachments of the Patriarch of Constantinople, although there is also a shorter Greek *Life*. Clement, it seems, established schools and seminaries and had 300 pupils in each of his three dioceses as well as a group of disciples who formed his staff.

There were at this time seven metropolitanates under the Archbishop of Bulgaria at Sardica, Philippopolis, Provaton, Margum, Bregalnitsa, Belitsa and Ochrida. Clement himself seems to have been made Bishop of Ochrida and Belitsa by Simeon, but whether this is so or not he was certainly the first Bulgarian-speaking bishop, and he spent his life in the service of the people. When he was old he tried to resign but the King would not permit it, and he died in his monastery at Ochrida in 916 leaving half of his possessions to the diocese and the other half to the monastery.

The overwhelming contribution of Boris to Bulgarian history was the introduction of Christianity, however much his early methods may be criticised. Under his influence churches and schools and monasteries grew up all over the land bringing civilisation and culture as well as spiritual sustenance to the mass of the people, and the genuineness of his own conversion is shown by the fact that in 889 he abdicated in favour of his eldest son Vladimir, and himself retired to a Slav monastery, probably that of Saint Pantaleimon near Preslav. His son Simeon became a monk and his daughter Eupraxia a nun.

The new King had obviously nourished for long an opposition to his father's policies, and although our information about him is scant, it seems that he was soon under the influence of the reviving aristocracy, overthrew his father's reforms, and began to re-introduce the practices of paganism. Reigning as he did as an autocrat there was

none who could say him nay, although his policy was contrary to the wishes of the people, and involved their being forced into corruption and decadence at the behest of a once-deposed and certainly decaying ruling class. In 893 the situation was saved by the re-emergence of Boris from his monastery who at once rallied support, deposed his son and, the old Adam combining with contemporary ideas of safety, blinded him, and then summoned some sort of national council which called the younger son, Simeon, the monk, to the throne, and also enforced the use of Slavonic as against both Greek and the old Bulgarian language.

These reforms being accomplished, Boris returned to his monastery and died there a few years later (in 907). Simeon, the new prince, was an educated and cultured man who had been trained in Constantinople but was a zealous supporter of the school of Cyril and Methodius and Clement and fostered the work of translation out of which a native Bulgarian literature later sprung. Both at Ochrida where Clement died in 916, and where Naoum (in 906) founded a monastery, and at Preslav where the royal capital was now moved and where the royal palace began to take on some of the characteristics of a monastery, translation followed translation. Simeon himself produced a volume of extracts from the Fathers, Bishop Constantine did Athanasius, and the Presbyter Gregory the *Chronicle of John Malalas* and a tale of Troy, the Exarch John translated that perpetual favourite of the Orthodox, John Damascene, and himself adapted Saint Basil's *Hexameron*. The first original work in Bulgarian was by a monk called Chernorizets Hrabar,\* and was an apologia for the Slav alphabet. If Simeon had been a monk, perhaps precisely because he had been a Byzantine monk, he understood the practical importance of magnificence so that both his capital and his person were richly adorned. Great churches were built in an effort to rival Constantinople and the Exarch John described the emotions of Bulgarian travellers seeing it all:

... the sights of heaven adorned with stars, sun and moon, earth with the grass and trees, and the fishes of the sea of all sorts, come upon him and his mind is lost. He comes back despising his own home and wishes to build himself as high as heaven.

The Bulgaria of Simeon which obviously could command great riches, and which was bursting forth into the greater riches of literacy, was a settled agricultural country with a trade in cereals and beasts

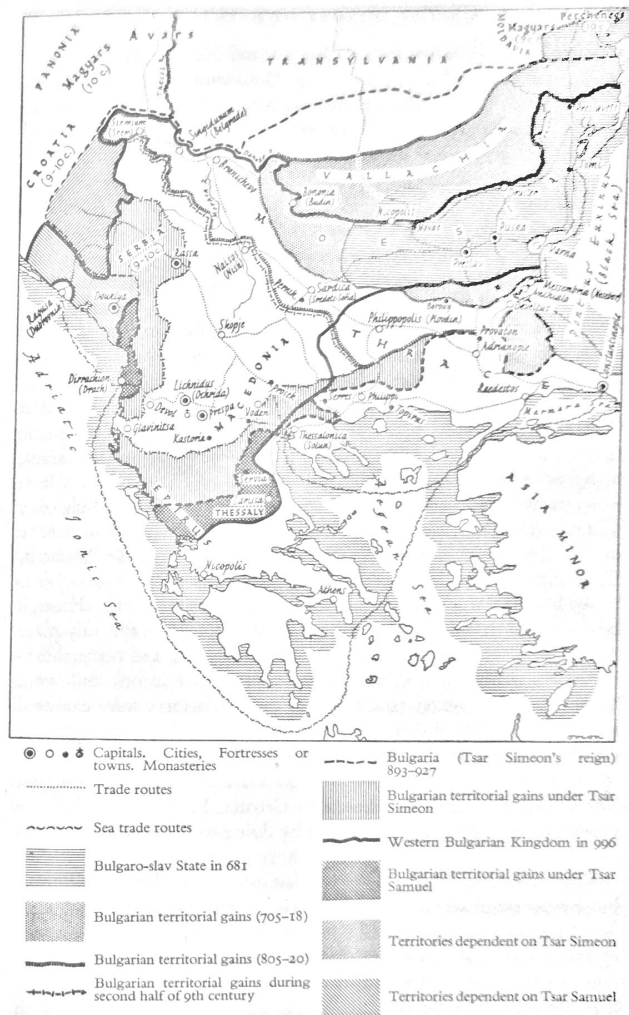
\* The Bold Blackshirt.

arising out of its agriculture. It had rich wines and it had the good fortune to be situated on the trade routes whether by land or by sea which connected the Steppe lands of Russia with Constantinople. It also lay across the trade route to Constantinople from Central Europe. All its opportunities were used and it had its officially recognised "counters" in the markets of Constantinople.

By some process of corruption these Bulgarian "counters" became the monopoly of two Greek merchants, Stauracius and Kozma, who removed them to Thessalonica. Simeon protested but his protests were unheard and so seriously did he take the matter that he immediately resorted to war and invaded Thrace, defeated the troops sent there against him (the main body of imperial troops were away in the east fighting the Saracens) and killed their generals. Then he moved up to Constantinople. The Emperor, the protector of civilisation, replied to this move by inviting the wild Magyars to attack Bulgaria. This they gladly did and Simeon rushed home only to be defeated and to be compelled to seek safety in the fortress of Dristra. It was now Simeon's turn to resort to diplomacy, so he at once sent ambassadors to Constantinople, secured a cease-fire, and then drove the Magyars back across the Danube at a great price; by diplomacy he got back from the Emperor the Bulgarian prisoners he had bought from the Magyars; and then he re-opened the war and routed an imperial army. Only after much negotiation did he make peace, although when he did it was under Magyar pressure, and it was not therefore a very favourable peace. After having made it, however, he turned to fighting the Magyars which he seems to have done with little success and his Empire across the Danube was reduced to the Wallachian Plain, which he lost a few years later to the Petchenegs. The details of this period are extremely obscure, but there is no doubt that to Magyars and Petchenegs combined in a short space of time Simeon lost Pannonia, Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia.

It was, therefore, to retrieve his battered fortunes that Simeon chose a moment of imperial decay when a drunken Emperor had not yet been replaced, to attack the Empire itself in August 913. He marched to Constantinople and there, overcome by its walls, negotiated and returned home with tributes and presents and a promise that the Emperor would take one of his daughters to wife. His eyes were fixed on the imperial throne which he was never destined to secure.

At this stage the Empire was taken over by the Empress Zoe who repudiated this agreement and Simeon again went to war. In reply the Empress stimulated the Petchenegs against him. They quarrelled with



## 2. THE FIRST BULGARIAN KINGDOM



the Byzantines, however, and withdrew, and Simeon beat a number of imperial armies but failed to take Constantinople; before being hustled off the throne the Empress succeeded in embroiling him in war with Serbia. After this there were more attacks on Thrace and year after year Simeon turned up with an army in the environs of Constantinople; Roman envoys intervened unsuccessfully and Simeon even went so far as to try to hire a navy from the Fatimid (Moslem) Caliph of Africa; finally, faced with the impossibility of being able to capture Constantinople, Simeon made peace, agreeing to evacuate imperial territory in return for an annual present of a hundred embroidered robes.

The dream of a Bulgarian Khan becoming a Roman Emperor was over, and had it succeeded Bulgarian culture and possibly the very Slav language itself, would have been drowned in a sea of Greek. But Emperor Simeon was now determined to be, so from 925 the Bulgarian "Khans" disappear from history and are replaced by "Tsars", the title Simeon actually chose being Tsar of the Romans and the Bulgarians, a dignity which was discussed with the Roman Church itself which saw yet another chance of securing the obedience of the Bulgarian Church. This, however, was not the Tsar's intention, and in 926 he created the Archbishop of Bulgaria, Leontius of Preslav, the Patriarch. Constantinople was in no position to object.

With such a title Simeon had to play the Emperor, and, although he continued to indulge in occasional raids into Greece, the only place now left him for expansion was Serbia. Seeing this, and being themselves imperially minded, the Serbs attacked first in 925 and won. Then came the counter-attack, all the Serbian princes were captured by "diplomacy", and their lands were laid waste; there was little that could be called Christian about the policy of slaughter with which the one-time monk and scholar made Serbia a safe province of his Empire. Then Simeon turned his army into Croatia, his new neighbour, a powerful and well-armed State, and by doing so he lost a general and an army, and had to make peace. In May 927 he died.

Simeon was succeeded not by his eldest son, a monk (by compulsion), but by his eldest son by his second wife, Peter, whose uncle, George Sursubul, acted as regent until Peter was of age. There were too many children now and too many military chiefs to make the succession safe and too many enemies abroad looking eagerly at Bulgaria now that Simeon was dead to make the position at all secure, and with considerable wisdom George the Regent immediately negotiated a treaty and a marriage-alliance with the Empress. Peter married the

imperial grand-daughter Maria, now re-christened Irene, to epitomise the peace. The treaty that went with the marriage gave some of Macedonia to Bulgaria, but restored a good deal of territory to the Empire; it fixed an annual payment to Bulgaria; and it recognised Peter as an Emperor and the Bulgarian Patriarch as a Patriarch. This treaty was the result of the fourteen year's war that Simeon had waged and at least it provided for an independent and universally recognised Bulgarian and Slav kingdom.

The years that now came to Bulgaria were difficult years. The years of war that had preceded them had placed an inevitable strain upon the economy and the strain brought an inevitable discontent. The Tsar Peter dared not upset the Empire, and he had to placate the Petchenegs. An escaped Serbian prince re-created Serbia in 933 with the friendly interest of the Emperor and Peter had simply to stand aside while it happened. There were raids by Petchenegs and raids by Magyars and, unsuccessfully, Peter pleaded for a saving alliance with Otto of Germany. But if some were with him in his placating policy, many of the surviving Bulgarian nobility were not; they stood for war and many of them supported an unsuccessful revolt led by one of Peter's brothers (929). The people too were restless, and when Simeon's eldest son, Michael, fled from his monastery to the western mountains, he found many followers and in fact set up a kind of rebel kingdom which was strong enough to sack Nicopolis in Epirus. All over the western part of the country there were similar if smaller bands.

From this time onwards the economic relations of feudalism began to develop in Bulgaria. The aristocracy, still mainly Bulgarian, but beginning also to include Slav elements, began to extend its possessions and to acquire private land at the expense of the common holdings. With this, in a society which had been familiar with chattel slavery, there rapidly grew up the institution of serfdom, of peasants being bound to the soil. Naturally a new tension developed between the serfs and the feudal lords and when, in the beginning of the tenth century, these feudal relations had become fully developed side by side with the complete assimilation of Bulgar and Slav so that they were now one people, and there was added to this wars and pestilence that impoverished the entire people, the tension mounting rapidly both among the enserfed peasants and among the free peasants. Against this the feudal class itself was by no means homogeneous and there were profound jealousies and tensions between the great *boyars* who formed the immediate entourage of the Tsar and were members of his council, and the lesser *boyars* who either performed official services in

the capital or the provinces, or who lived on their estates and brought in a contingent to the army in case of war. This position had been the result of a development, from the days of Tervel on, which led to economic improvement. Trade with Western Europe and Russia and Constantinople had grown; the towns and the handicrafts which were fostered within them had increased the general wealth; territorial expansion had done the same. The elaboration towards the end of the ninth century of a code of civil, family and criminal law, added to the general feeling of stability. Now all this appeared to be shaking. Fifteen years of warfare for the capture of Constantinople in the reign of Simeon had exhausted the people and produced profound discontent. After this had come a great earthquake; in 925 and 926 the crops were destroyed by frosts; in 927 locusts came and devoured every blade of grass and every green thing, and what the locusts left the peasants, the *boyars* took, for the land which the clan organisation of the peasants had preserved to them now went to the *boyars* in exchange for food and seeds.

Revolt was inevitable, and one of the first forms it took was the movement of the hermits of whom the outstanding figure is John of Rila, from whom the famous monastery of Rila originates. Born at Skrimo between the years 876 and 880, John left his village after the death of his parents, gave all his goods to feed the poor, and entered the monastery of Ossogovska-Planina. Having served his apprenticeship there he moved on to the mountains above the Struma, then to the Vitosha and eventually to the wild and rugged mountains of Rila. There, surrounded by wild beasts, and attacked by bandits, living on herbs and wild fruit, he settled down to a life of piety which so challenged the prevalent laxity of the monasteries and savagery of much of the life of the country that his name became a legend, and he soon found himself the centre of a community of ascetic monks who were taught to care for the poor and not for princes, to remember that "he who would be chief among you must be as he that doth serve", and to preach and achieve peace and unity. He died in 946. The movement which he initiated and which had many supporters was a protest against both the corruptions of Byzantine Christianity and its luxurious monasticism and also a protest against the decline of the country which was linked with an increasing hellenisation of the church; and it is a movement which has an important place in the history of the country. It, too, however, called forth a protest and Presbyter Cosmas was the chief among those who denounced the hermit life as selfish, inveighing particularly against the distortion of orthodoxy held by both some

of the monks and some of the hermits, that those who live in the world cannot achieve salvation and that marriage is evil.

### *The Bogomils*

It is against the whole of this background that we have to see the great and heretical\* movement of protest known as Bogomilism, a movement which was denounced by Cosmas jointly with the extremities of monasticism and asceticism. The "Pope" or priest, Bogomil, was a contemporary of the Tsar Peter (927-69) who taught what the Patriarch Theophylact of Constantinople defined as both ancient and modern heresy, or to be more precise, as Mannichacism mixed with Paulicianism although, in fact, this is only a half-truth. Unfortunately almost everything we know of the Bogomils comes from their adversaries and has, therefore, to be viewed with considerable caution. Theophylact, however, was certainly right in what he said of the Paulicians. Transported, as we have seen earlier, from Armenia to the Bulgarian border to guard the Empire's frontier, their teaching, vigorously pursued, now bore fruit. It was itself, in some sense, the product of earlier forms of Mannichacism and had been added to by Massalians from Syria. These movements it certainly was that dictated the theoretical form which the Bogomil movement took but it was the theoretical form, and this is the point which Theophylact perhaps deliberately evaded, taken by a particular movement of social revolt, a movement which expressed the revolt of the peasantry against the subjection and poverty to which Bulgarian feudalism had brought them. It was directed against the peasants' dependence on the feudal lords, and on the dues which were exacted from him, against the luxuries indulged in by both the lay and the ecclesiastical aristocracy and against the moral corruption they had achieved.

The heresies attributed to the Bogomils by Theophylact are all Paulician; the existence of two ultimate principles, one good and one evil, one the creator of Light and the other of Darkness and of matter; the doctrine that matter is evil; the rejection of the Law of Moses and the Prophets; the treatment of Jesus of Nazareth as having only an appearance of material existence; the rejection of the Holy Communion; the denial of the virginity of Mary.† But Bogomil went beyond the Paulicians and denounced marriage and propagation as essentially evil. This, of course, was one possible logical development

\* Hence the use of the word Bu(l)gar in the west as a term of abuse.

† The Bogomils seem, in fact, to have made the principle of evil rather subsidiary to that of good. Their dualism was not an ultimate one.



of the idea of matter as evil (the other being that whatever you do in and with matter morally does not matter) and demonstrates the desperate nature of the times which had driven a movement born of material revolt to the contradiction of the intellectual denial of the validity of matter, which produces the further contradiction that the opposition to Bogomilism shown in Cosmas and others was a necessary part of the struggle of the Bulgarian people to acquire an outlook on existence which was at all adequate to reality.

Nevertheless, there was great point in the Bogomil ideology. If the devil was the creator of "Mammon", of all material things, it followed that those who now possessed and enjoyed those things were of the devil. The rejection of matter, of Church custom and social custom (such as marriage) was the rejection of an entire order of society and was, significantly enough, treated as an act of revolt. The Bogomils, moreover, knew how to go about their work:

The heretics [said Cosmas], in appearance are lamblike, gentle, modest and silent, and pale from hypocritical fasting. They do not talk idly, nor laugh loudly, nor show any animosity. They keep away from the sight of men, and outwardly they do everything so as not to be distinguished from righteous Christians, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. The people, on seeing their great humility, think that they are orthodox and able to show them the path of salvation; they approach and ask them how to save their souls. Like a wolf that wants to seize a lamb, they first cast their eyes downwards, sigh and answer with humility. Wherever they meet any simple or uneducated man, they sow the tares of their preaching; blaspheming the tradition and rules of Holy Church.

They say that everything belongs to the Devil; the sky, the sun, the stars, the air, man, churches, crosses, all that comes from God they ascribe to the Devil; in general, they consider all that is on earth, animate and inanimate, to be of the Devil.

Their rejection of the Church system was total. Church buildings they regarded as the abode of the devil, and they repudiated the order of priesthood, the cult of saints, the sacraments, and the veneration of idols. It seems fairly clear that, like similar groups in other countries which had some kind of affinities with the gnosticism of the early Christian centuries, they had higher and lower orders and the lower were permitted matrimony. The basis of Bogomil teaching is stated by Cosmas: "They teach their own people not to obey their masters, they revile the wealthy, hate the tsar, ridicule the elders, condemn the *boyars*, regard as vile in the sight of God those who serve the tsar and

forbid every serf to work for his lord".\* It was because of their readiness to suffer in defence of this standpoint that they became the real leaders of the Bulgarian people and were venerated by them so that Cosmas had to regret that the people "do not know what their heresy is, and imagine that they suffer for truth and wish to receive reward from God for their chains and imprisonment". The Bogomils in turn were careful to keep close to the people. They used only Slavonic; they went to church, they received the sacraments, and they said: "we do all this because of the people and not according to our hearts; we hold to our own faith secretly". Small wonder that they were difficult for the authorities to detect!

We know a good deal as to what the Bogomils believed, but of their actual history in the first Bulgarian Kingdom we know remarkably little. The immediate disciples of Bogomil were Theodore, Dabri, Stephen, Basil and Peter, and the movement was probably strengthened by the settlement of a new colony of Paulicians in Philippopolis by the Emperor John Tzimiski (969-76).† It certainly grew to considerable strength in Macedonia in the latter part of the tenth century, indeed in all probability it is here that it originated just as it was here that there grew up the popular and Slavonic literature which it produced.

In the midst of a sea of troubles the Bulgarian State began to lose its cohesion. There arose a series of feudal conspiracies and attempts at rebellion between the years 928 and 930, and the strain and tension they produced went on working until it split the kingdom. The trouble came to a head in the winter of 966 when the Tsar Peter was unwise enough to provoke Constantinople by demanding of a new (co-) Emperor, Nicephorus, the tribute which a former Emperor had given. He did not get the tribute. Instead an outraged Emperor first skirmished on the Bulgarian frontier, causing Peter to cry for peace and hand over two of his sons as hostages; then, determined to run no risks, he paid the Russian prince, Svyatoslav, to attack Bulgaria. This he did in 967 or 968, attacking the Dobrudja, and occupying a number of towns including Preslav on the Danube where he set up his court, intending to settle. This, however, was more than Constantinople had

\* This passage is grossly underestimated in Obolensky's *The Bogomils*, and his whole attitude to the subject is vitiated by an approach based on a concept of the separation of religion and politics and socialism, which is derived wholly from nineteenth-century western thought which, interpreted into tenth-century Bulgarian, has no validity of any kind.

† It is relevant, too, to note that Constantine transplanted colonies of Paulicians from Armenia to Thrace in the eighth century and that they made their headquarters in Philippopolis.

bargained for and, not wishing to promote the expansion of the Kiev State, Nicephorus now promoted an attack of the Petchenegs on Kiev and Svyatoslav had to withdraw from Bulgaria to defend his home territory. Soon afterwards, however, in 969, Svyatoslav returned to Bulgaria which became the battleground of a struggle between Kiev and Byzantium, the victory of either side promising no independence for Bulgaria. The Tsar Peter died in the act of negotiating an alliance with Constantinople, the scanty evidence tending to show that he and the nobles favoured this alliance while the people, if compelled to choose, would have elected for a Slav alliance.

When Svyatoslav marched in, Bulgaria split into two, the new Tsar Boris ruling only Eastern Bulgaria and a separate kingdom being set up in the west. Boris himself and his whole family were captured in the complete collapse of Eastern Bulgaria despite a formidable resistance in Philippopolis. The war then developed completely into one between Constantinople and Kiev, the Russians being defeated at Arcadiopolis (later Burgas) in 970, and in 972 they were defeated utterly and compelled to withdraw. Svyatoslav himself was slain by the Petchenegs on the way home.

The Emperor, John Tzimiski, had begun his campaign by proclaiming the liberation of Bulgaria; now he proclaimed its annexation, brought to an end the Bulgarian Patriarchate and carried off the Tsar to Constantinople. So, in 972, the Eastern Bulgarian Kingdom came to an end. Boris received the title of *Magister* and settled down to the life of Constantinople.

There remained the west which endured until 1018. It was ruled by the sons of a former provincial governor called Nicholas and although we are in complete ignorance of the details, it had come into being by a revolt in which Bogomil influence seems to have been powerful. The new State, for such it was, at once established its own diplomacy and by 973 was already negotiating with Otto, the Emperor of the West. By 980 one of the sons, Samuel, had become the sole leader and was known as the Tsar and he it was who by giving his strong support to the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which, after a number of preliminary moves became settled at Ochrida, made it a powerful feature in the life of the nation. Samuel defended what was left of the Bulgarian Kingdom by an active military policy concentrating particularly on the invasion of Thessaly. He eventually succeeded in capturing Larissa in 986 and by so doing provoked the reprisals of the Byzantine Emperor, Basil.

This is one of many points where national loyalties confuse history.

To the Greek and the student of the Byzantine tradition, the ascetic, capable and ruthless Basil is the strong man who preserved Byzantium, although he despised its culture, for a further period in the face of great danger; to the Bulgarian and the student of the Slav tradition he is Basil the Bulgar-slayer, and the fact is that the traditions and cultures which were savagely and aggressively defended by both Basil and Samuel had each important contributions to make to world history and world development. Basil's first object was to prevent the return to the Bulgarians of their old eastern provinces, and in 986 he laid siege to Sofia, was compelled to withdraw and suffered an overwhelming defeat in the process. Samuel followed up his victory, regained Preslav and Pliska, and forced a passage to the Adriatic, Basil being preoccupied the while by the rebellions of Bardas Phocas and Bardas Sclerus in Asia. The next stage came when Samuel, having captured Beorrhoa, threatened Thessalonica and the Aegean, and Basil took the field against him. The struggle went on for years, both sides gaining victories and suffering defeats. In 996 the Bulgarians were driven out of Greece. More and more Samuel enforced unity, suppressed the peace party, built fortifications and also occasional churches which demonstrate an Armenian architectural influence. He had no doubt that the future of Bulgaria was at stake and that a small kingdom could not last, so he advanced with success into the Adriatic principalities and he made an alliance with Hungary. But neither of these things could save him or his kingdom. In 1001 Basil struck against Sofia, in 1002 Preslav and Pliska, in 1003 in Macedonia, in 1004 against Vidin; in four years the Bulgarian Kingdom was again halved.

We know remarkably little of the internal history of Bulgaria under Samuel, but the evidence appears to be that the people, under the influence of the Bogomils, gave no support to his campaign. At this time certainly the feudal lords and even his own officials began to leave the sinking ship and desert to the Empire one by one, and members of his own family were among the traitors. The only remarkable thing, indeed, in the sorry end of the story, is the length of time during which Samuel fought on. Every year after 1006 the country was invaded and then, in 1014, at Belasitsa, the Bulgarian Army was crushed. All but one of every hundred of fourteen to fifteen thousand captured soldiers were blinded, and then left to return to the Tsar Samuel. For him this ghastly sight and all that it meant was too much, and he died of an apopleptic fit.

The rest is but an epilogue. Samuel was succeeded by his son, Gabriel Radomir, who carried on the struggle but was murdered by

his own cousin. The terrible logic of decay went on. More and more did the feudal lords of Bulgaria fight among themselves and compete in treachery, while Basil laid waste the country, slaying and blinding. The Tsar's murderer, John Vladislav, took refuge in the mountains, killed more rivals and continued the struggle by guerilla war until he was assassinated at the beginning of the year 1018. With his death the Bulgarian Kingdom came to an end. The members of the royal house and the *boyars* who supported them capitulated and those who tried to continue the war were defeated, the last of them in 1019, and savagely slaughtered. Basil Bulgaroctonov—the Bulgar-slayer—had won.

He had won, but only for a time, because the achievement of the first Bulgarian Kingdom did not depend upon boundaries. What had been created was a people and the beginnings of a national tradition and the creation of this at the very gates of the mighty Empire of Constantinople is an achievement of colossal dimensions which is, tragically enough, still underestimated in almost all of the standard histories of Western Europe. Even more than this, by saving the work of Cyril and Methodius, the Bulgarian Kingdom had retained for the world the Slav language and the Slav tradition and all that it was to become. The story had lasted for only four centuries, but it was epic, and it was still alive. In the first Bulgarian Kingdom a Slav civilisation, with schools and hospitals and a culture of its own had come into being. Art had grown and developed and although reflecting a deep Byzantine influence, still, from pottery to architecture, it was distinctively Bulgarian; the first Bulgarian Kingdom had ensured the future of Bulgaria.

Now began the period of occupation and total subjection. For 168 years Bulgaria was to be simply a province of the Empire and during that period we know all too little of its history. It is thought by some the country was divided administratively into two themes, one called Bulgaria and the other (the Danube province and the older capitals) called Paristrum. A governor was appointed called a *Pronoetes* who was responsible to Constantinople and who had to maintain himself and his administration out of the taxes, although he was ordered to retain Samuel's system of taxation in kind. Needless to say, the Patriarchate, which was a focal point of Bulgarian independence, was abolished and replaced by an Archbishopric of Bulgaria which operated successively from Vodená, Prespa and Ochrida. Under the Archbishop were thirty bishops and 685 clergy. For all his previous savagery Basil seems to have made no attempt to interfere with the Slav Liturgy, and he allowed the Patriarch David to become the Archbishop. This

policy, however, was brought to an end when David died and from that time onwards the Archbishop of Bulgaria was a Greek and an increasing attempt was made to integrate the Bulgarian Church into that of Constantinople.

It had been a long struggle and Bulgaria was tired. The princes and the generals and the aristocrats went over *en bloc* to the Empire and took service under it, some of them reaching very high positions. The merchants had found, in the end, that the war was injurious to trade and were prepared to accept any kind of rule, provided only that it brought trade. Only the peasants who were led by the Bogomils continued their fundamental antipathy to Byzantine rule. The Bogomil movement, indeed, took full advantage of the new situation and began to penetrate into the Byzantine Empire, even venturing into Constantinople itself. Paulicians and Bogomils were united in opposition to the Byzantinisation of Bulgaria and as the Orthodox Church became more and more a vehicle for hellenisation, Greek now being its liturgical language, their importance increased. Theophylact of Euboea who was Archbishop of Ochrida from 1078 to 1118 and who was a considerable scholar whose work included a Slav text of the Gospels as well as commentaries on many books of the Bible, and the life of Clement of Ochrida, bewailed his lot in being "condemned to associate with these monsters" (the Bulgarians), described the country as "a filthy marsh" and the people as "the frogs which emerge from it". "The Bulgarian character," he said, "is the nurse of all evil." Small wonder that the people, beset with abuse and excessive taxation, looked elsewhere for leadership. The lot of the peasants was further depressed by the return to Bulgaria of the Byzantine system of *latifundia* (large farms) and the accumulation of land in the hands of a small rich class—a phenomenon which later survived the Turkish invasion—who, particularly in the north, gained large estates in return for the duty of defending the frontiers. The peasants tended to become serfs and to be bound to the soil, with the result that from 1040 onwards there was a whole series of peasant revolts all of which were suppressed. In 1078 a revolt around Sredets (Sofia) and Nis was led by one Leka, who came from Philippopolis, who joined forces with Dombromir who appears to have been a follower of the Bogomils. In 1084 there was a mutiny at Philippopolis and in this and many other matters there was a growing connection between the Paulicians and the Petchenegs.

The Byzantine historian, Anna Commena, says about the year 1110 in Constantinople:

A very great cloud of heretics arose, and the nature of their heresy was new and hitherto quite unknown to the Church. For two very evil and worthless doctrines, which had been known in former times, now coalesced; the impiety, as it might be called, of the Mannichaeans, which we also call the Paulician heresy, and the shamelessness of the Massalians. This was the doctrine of the Bogomils compounded of those of the Massalians and the Mannichaeans.

It was about this time that an arrested Bogomil, Diblatice, revealed under torture the names of the leader and of the head of the sect, Basil. Basil was a monk who it seems went round with twelve followers who were called apostles, "and also dragged about with him some female disciples, wretched women of loose habits". This was one of his enemies speaking and the evidence with regard to sex equality is more important than the allegations as to sexual habits. Basil was tricked by the Emperor into stating his views, and then tried for heresy and burned. There followed mass arrests and imprisonments and, as the repression intensified, the struggle moved away from the capital into the provinces reaching a peak between 1140 and 1147.

The rising of 1040 had followed an order to collect the land-tax in money, and was led by Peter Dallyan, a grandson of the Tsar Samuel. It was conducted simultaneously with the rising in the Dracha Region.\* The 1072 rising at Skoplje was led by the *boyar* George Voitekh who proclaimed Constantine Bodina as Tsar, showing that increasingly peasant revolts were merging into a struggle for national independence. The Empire's reply was to settle a Petcheneg horde, 20,000 strong, on the Bulgarian border and by doing so intensify the Bulgarian struggle. The struggle, however, was a complex one, as from half-way through the eleventh century onwards the country was also attacked by Turks, Magyars and Polovtsi. Later, in 1096-7 the soldiers of the first crusade went through Bulgaria robbing and plundering. The hermit, Peter, who had preached the first crusade, became a fugitive in the Bulgarian mountains, and the combination of normal invasions, crusading invasions and forced levies for the Byzantine Army, led to a growing depopulation of the country.

One factor, however, in this period, operated in favour of Bulgaria, and that was the growing struggle between Constantinople and Kiev, between the Byzantine Empire and the much younger Russian State, and as that conflict grew, more and more were the provinces left to their fate.

\* Around the city of Drach.

Throughout the whole period of Byzantine occupation the great majority of the people were against the Empire and, although the Church was dominated by alien archbishops imposed from outside the country, yet it is vital to notice that it never abandoned its Slav spirit and it was in 1083 that the famous Bachkovo monastery was founded where the oldest Bulgarian Church paintings are still to be seen and which Greeks were forbidden to enter.

Under the Byzantine Empire the people were oppressed both by the Empire itself and by their local feudal landlords and the problem of liberation was, in one sense, the problem of the mass of the people and their local lords finding a common interest against the Empire; and it was essentially the lack of restraint on the side of the Empire which eventually created this unity, for although this and the two centuries to follow were times of the growth and extension of feudalism they were also times of certain extensions of trading relations and the money economy which went with them. At this time a part of the land descended from peasant to peasant by direct inheritance and a part of it was taken simply in return for certain goods and services to the lord, who, of course, got some return for all land for his administrative and military defence of the district. There was still a nobility with a certain measure of independence although the chief military class were foreigners. Many of the feudal lords were, or were becoming, vassals of the monasteries. The enforcement of military taxation was beginning and many peasant households were ruined by tax demands; it was indeed during this period that the peasants became almost uniformly enserfed. Side by side with this, however, towns, of which Sredets (Sofia) was the biggest, grew apace and crafts grew with them.

### *The Second Bulgarian Kingdom*

The overthrow of the anti-Latin Andronicus I in 1185 led to the rule of the Angeli, Isaac (1185-95) and Alexis III (1195-1203), which was marked by poverty and incompetence and under which the opposition to the Empire grew from strength to strength, and about the year 1185 an important rising took place at Tirnovo which was led by the local lords John and Peter Asen. The Asens claimed descent from the imperial house of Sisman. Certain demands of theirs for land and for service in the Byzantine Army were rejected by the court with contempt and their reply was to summon the people of Tirnovo to the Church of St. Demetrius and there to raise the standard of revolt which both overtaxed nobles and overtaxed people were quick to support. Peter Asen was crowned as Tsar and a new Archbishop was



appointed who did not owe his position to Constantinople. Later Peter passed over the crown to John.

So in 1186 the second Bulgarian Kingdom came into being and flourished for over two hundred years, only coming to an end in 1398. This is not to say, however, that it was firmly established in 1186, and in fact the struggle against the Empire went on for a long time, aided perhaps by the initial failure of the Emperor to recognise the seriousness of the revolt. John Asen had the support not only of his own people but also of the Serbian Prince Nemanja, the Wallachs and the Kumani, and was also assisted by the division and the weakness of his enemies whose armies were largely composed of aliens and mercenaries whose pay was in arrears. The weakness of the imperial forces not only made possible the successful revolt of Bulgaria but led also to the granting of concessions to Italy and the revolt of Cyprus. In 1203 and 1204 even Constantinople itself was attacked by the crusaders.

John Asen was utterly different from the effeminate leader of the Greeks, and Bulgaria was rapidly liberated from the Danube to the Balkans. Then followed a period of guerilla warfare in Thrace at which the Bulgarians excelled; whenever their enemy advanced they retreated, and whenever he withdrew they pursued. "They ran," as one of the Greek Chronicles had it, "like stags or goats" and showered rocks and arrows upon their adversaries, and when Isaac followed some temporary success by venturing into a narrow defile, his army was annihilated. John Asen then laid siege to fortified towns and captured in turn Varna, Nisch and Sredets, taking the relics of St. John of Rila from the east to his own capital of Tirmovo. He even went so far as to offer assistance to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa in the third crusade in return for the Greek Empire, a proposal which was not accepted. He was strong enough, however, to refuse an offer of peace made by Alexis III, the successor of Isaac.

Eventually the Empire succeeded in making peace with the Bulgarians in 1187 and by doing so officially recognised the restoration of the Bulgarian State. In the following year soldiers taking part in the third crusade passed through Bulgaria and, by their hostility to the Byzantine Empire, helped to consolidate the Bulgarian State. It was, indeed, when the crusaders had passed, that the war re-opened and the Byzantines suffered an important defeat in the Tryavna Pass in 1190 and Isaac II had to flee for his life. In 1195 and 1196 Bulgarian armies marched down the Struma as far as Seres and captured many fortified places. They were overcome, however, only by their own internal jealousies which the Byzantines did their best to ferment, and in 1196

John Asen perished at the hand of Ivanko, a Bulgarian noble whom he suspected of a liaison with his wife's sister and who replied to the Tsar's anger by drawing his sword and striking him dead. Although his death was premature John Asen had succeeded in re-establishing the Kingdom and he remains one of the great names of Bulgarian history.

Ivanko seems to have nourished aspirations towards the throne but in this he was unsuccessful. John Asen was succeeded by his brother, Peter, who had shared most things with him and who already governed a part of the country. He joined his younger brother, Kaloyan, with him in government, but was himself too mild a man to govern for long at a time when warlike qualities were essential to a ruler, and in 1197 he, too, fell to an assassin and Kaloyan was left to reign alone. Kaloyan was a strong ruler who would brook no opposition and who was prepared to take whatever steps any situation might necessitate, and he had, indeed, to suppress the attempts of Dobromir Hriz to set up a semi-autonomous State first in Strumitsa and then in Prossek on the Vardar; of Ivanko to act as a feudatory of the Empire at Plovdiv; and of the Byzantine John Spiridonaki to rule in Smolyan.

He himself ruled from 1197 to 1207 and succeeded in extending the bounds of Bulgaria to the west and secured the recognition of the independence of Bulgaria from Constantinople in a peace of 1207. He went on to attempt to negotiate the recognition of his title of Tsar and the independence of the Bulgarian Church, and when he failed in this he turned the other way and compelled the Bulgarian Church to accept the overlordship of Pope Innocent III. The terms of the union were the acceptance of Papal supremacy on the one side, and the granting of internal ecclesiastical autonomy on the other. The agreement also included the grant of the title of King by the Pope to Kaloyan, and he was crowned in Tirmovo by a Papal nuncio as King of the Bulgars and the Vlachs.

The union lasted only for a short time, and had no abiding consequences. It must not be assumed from this that Kaloyan was prepared to betray his people's inheritance to the west. Indeed the reverse is the case, and when in 1204 the fourth crusade seized Constantinople it was Kaloyan who stopped their further movement into the Balkans, and Baldwin of Flanders, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, was killed, or died after he had been captured,\* in battle against the Bulgarians when his forces were crushed by them at Adrianople in 1205. Further than this Kaloyan entered into an alliance with the Cumans against the Franks, an alliance which was sealed by his own

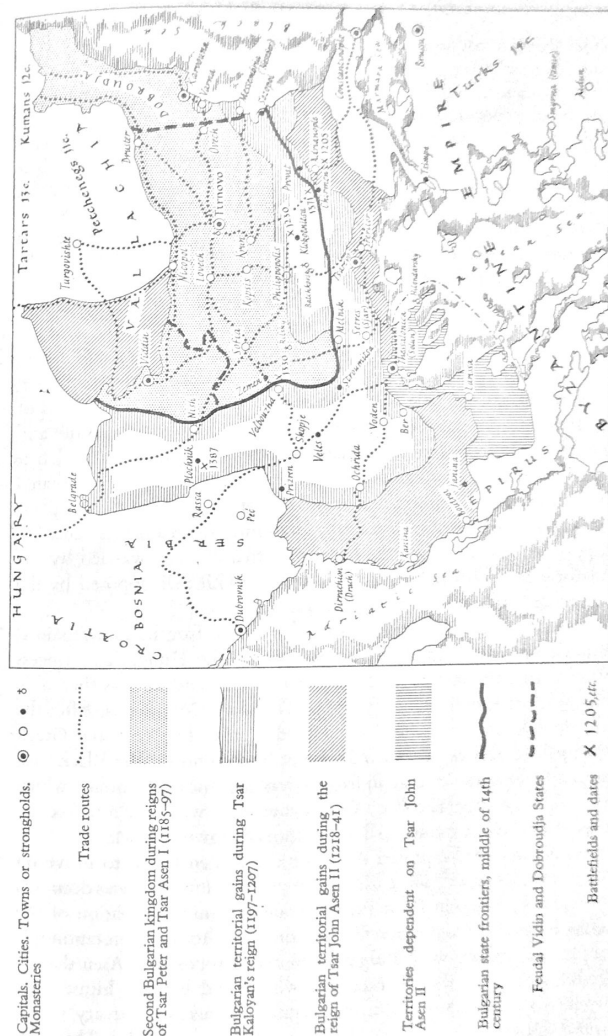
\* There is no certainty on the point.



marriage, and harried both Franks and Greece, also calling himself "the Greek-slayer". In 1207, he too, was assassinated by the *boyars*, or feudal nobility, who would not submit to a loss of their privileges and who were conspiring with the Byzantine court. Their agent was one of his generals engaged with him in the siege of Salonika. There followed eleven years of anarchy. The throne was actually seized by a nephew of Kaloyan named Boril who was described by his contemporary, King Stephen of Serbia, as one "whose soul found sweet pleasure in shedding the blood of his countrymen". The rightful heir, the son of John Asen, himself named John Asen, was compelled to flee to Russia. Under Boril fierce attacks on the Franks were completely unsuccessful and he was severely defeated at Philippopolis. Later he married his daughter to the Latin Emperor Henry, demonstrating thereby the growing importance of his country, and with the Emperor he pursued a wholly unsuccessful campaign against the Serbians. His failure to establish his position was marked by the increasing defection of the feudal nobles and the disorder of the State gave to the supporters of John Asen the opportunity for which they had been waiting. In 1218 John Asen returned with Russian support and besieged Boril in Tirmovo which resisted for some months but finally had to yield. Boril was captured and blinded. This did not, however, stop the intensification of feudal dissension and large landholdings multiplied as the lands of Byzantine owners and communal lands were seized and the peasants became increasingly dependent upon the large landowners, the majority of them becoming serfs. There was a good market for grain in Italy and with it the political importance of the feudal aristocracy grew and with this important separatist tendencies multiplied.

Against this background once more Bogomilism became of outstanding importance and the revolt against Byzantium was the culmination of strong anti-Greek feeling in the leading of which both Bogomils and Paulicians had played an important part. Both were strong supporters of Kaloyan and both were strong opponents of Boril. It was during the reign of Boril that dualist heresies were spreading all over Europe, notably that of the Albigenses in Southern France, and it was in 1211 that strong laws against the Bogomils were passed by the Bulgarian Church. In that year a council was held at Tirmovo at which Boril presided and as the *Synodicon of the Tsar Boril* put it:

He commanded that the sowers of impiety be brought before the council. He did not charge them at once, but entrapped them with great cunning: he

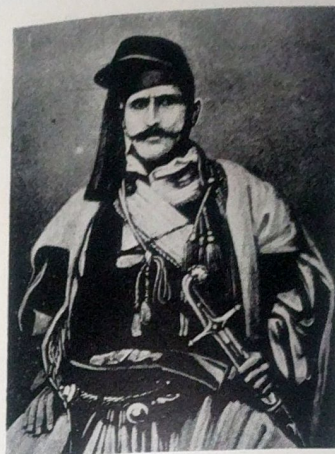


3. THE SECOND BULGARIAN KINGDOM

told them to cast away all fear and to profess boldly their blasphemous teachings; and they, hoping to entice the Tsar and those around him, expressed their ill-famed heresy in detail. They supported their arguments with many quotations from the Holy Scriptures, but the Tsar and those with him questioned them with wisdom until their ill-famed sophistries were laid bare. Then the heretics were seized with confusion and were dumb as fish. The pious Tsar, seeing that they were completely put to shame, was filled with joy and ordered that the heretical teachers and those whom they had seduced be detained. When they saw this, some of the heretics returned to the Universal Church; those, however, who did not submit to the Orthodox Council were sent to prison or otherwise punished.

But this is a partial account, and that the bulk of the people were on the other side was seen when they joined John Asen II against Boril. After that the persecution of the Bogomils ceased. In 1235 John Asen received the assent of the four eastern Patriarchs to the re-creation of the Bulgarian Patriarchate. This act broke the union with Rome and restored an independent Bulgarian Church to a position in which it again became the guardian of Slav language and culture and so created the situation in which Bogomilism no longer had a major part to play; throughout the fourteenth century Bogomilism became less and less important. The attack on the heretics in that century was led by the quietist Theodosius (a "Heychast") who was himself opposed by the Bulgarian Patriarch also named Theodosius.

In 1221 John Asen secured his north-western frontier and regained Branichevo and Belgrade by a marriage to the Hungarian Princess Anna Maria, the daughter of King Andrew II, and he was then able to turn his attention to the Byzantine Theodore Commenus. After the crusaders' Latin Empire had conquered Constantinople three Greek principalities had been founded, one at Trebizond on the Black Sea, one at Nicaea, and one at Epirus. It was the Nicaean Empire which was ruled over by Theodore Commenus who was now attacked by John Asen who captured Salonika, moved down the Maritsa, took Dimotika in 1225, captured Adrianople and then began to move on Constantinople itself. The Latin throne of Constantinople was occupied by a minor, Baldwin II, in 1228, and under him the situation of the Latin Empire so deteriorated that the Knights of Constantinople sought the protection of Bulgaria and even proposed to Asen that he should marry his daughter to Baldwin II and become himself the Regent of the Empire. Asen duly signed the necessary treaty which bound him to capture the Latin possessions taken by Theodore Commenus and Theodore's reply to this was an alliance with the



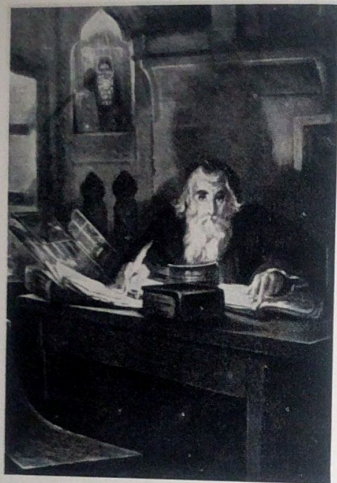
A HAIDUK

(Bulgarian insurgents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries)



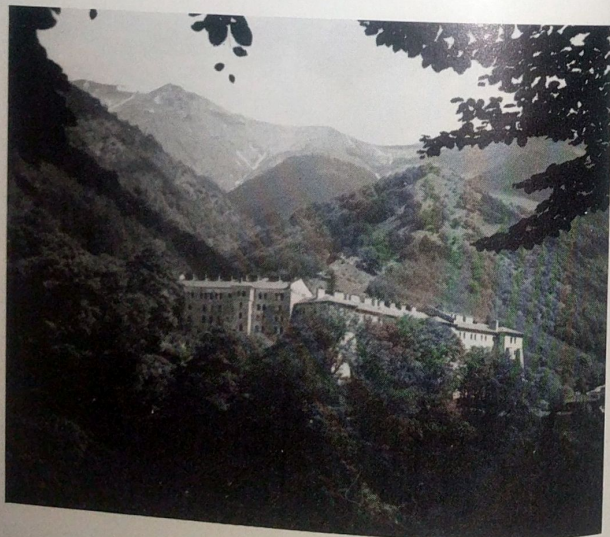
TURKISH  
JANISSARIES  
WHO RULED IN  
BULGARIA





THE MONK PAISSY  
Author of the first Bulgarian  
History

THE RILA MONASTERY



German Emperor, Frederick II and a truce with Constantinople, designed to isolate Bulgaria. In this situation Theodore set out to attack and in the spring of 1230 the Battle of Klokotnitsa was fought in the Maritsa Valley. Theodore was decisively defeated and himself captured: his principality became a small vassal state of Bulgaria. John Asen's Bulgaria was now as large territorially as that of Simeon or of Samuel, and included Little Wallachia on the south bank of the Danube, Macedonia, Northern Greece and Albania. It was the largest state in the Balkans and extended from Adrianople to Durazzo, including Skoplje and Ochrida. Sava of Serbia tried, indeed, to bind together the two courts by marriage and died in Tirmovo when he was trying to negotiate the union. The Latin Empire of Constantinople had now become dependent upon Bulgaria and all hope of a Byzantine restoration was at an end. It was, indeed, to commemorate this decisive event that John Asen had inscribed on a pillar in the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Tirmovo:

In the year 1230 I, John Asen, Tsar and Autocrat of the Bulgarians, obedient to God in Christ, son of the old Asen, have built this most worthy church from its foundations and completely decked it with paintings in honour of the Forty Holy Martyrs, by whose help, in the 12th year of my reign, when the Church had just been painted, I set out to Rumania to the war and smote the Greek army and took captive the Tsar Theodore Commenus with all his nobles. And all lands have I conquered from Adrianople to Durazzo, the Greek, the Albanian and the Servian land. Only the towns round Constantinople and that city itself did the Franks hold, but they too bowed themselves beneath the hand of my sovereignty, for they had no other Tsar but me, and prolonged their days, according to my will, as God had so ordained. For without him no word or work is accomplished. To him be honour for ever. Amen.

For all that the situation continued to change. Anxious to regain their freedom of manoeuvre the Latins broke their treaty with Asen and Baldwin II in fact married the daughter of the former King of Jerusalem, Jean de Brienne, and it was he who became the Regent of the Empire. Bulgaria in turn was forced to become more friendly to what remained of the Nicaean Kingdom and, in doing so, broke off the relations of the Bulgarian Church with Rome, at the same time receiving from the Emperor Vatatzes of Nicaea and the Ecumenical Patriarch not merely the recognition of the autonomy of the Bulgarian Church but the restoration of the Patriarchate.

Despite a Mongol invasion in 1237 John Asen's Kingdom was more

prosperous than those of either Simon or Samuel and in his time Bulgarian traders became frequent visitors to Venice and Italian ports and commercial centres. He permitted the Ragusan merchants, who did more of the carrying trade of the Balkans in the Middle Ages than any other group, complete freedom of trade throughout his kingdom and established cordial relations with them which did much to foster the development of his country. Precious metals, textiles and salt flowed into Bulgaria from the Adriatic and, in turn, played their part in developing the crafts of the country. Large numbers of craftsmen, indeed, were both trained and employed in developing Tirnovo as the capital of the new Bulgarian Kingdom and to the people of the period "the queen of cities, the famous burgh" as their writers called it, became as important as Constantinople itself, and to this day the glory of its Church of the Forty Martyrs remains. It was on the basis of this prosperity that schools and monasteries arose throughout the land.

In one sense the outstanding thing about John Asen II was that he was deeply immersed in the arts of peace and did not seek for war. One of his contemporaries wrote of him that he had neither drawn his sword against his own countrymen, nor disgraced himself by the murder of Greeks. So not only the Bulgarians, but Greeks and other nations loved him. Under his rule culture and the arts flourished and buildings grew apace. Grants were even given for the erection of monasteries on Mount Athos. The first Bulgarian coins, copper, silver and gold were minted.

John Asen's success in creating a centralised State was largely due to the fact that he had built an army independent of the large feudal landowners. On his own lands he established an administrative and taxation system moulded on those of Byzantium. Despite his granting of privileges to merchants, however, the growth of foreign trade did not lead to the strengthening of the unity of the country as internal economic links were lacking. It is not surprising, therefore, that after his death the progress of feudal disintegration, which he had checked, began again to reassert itself. In his last years the feverish and warlike politics of the whole area engaged most of his attention. He was forced into a conflict with the Greek Principality of Salonika and in 1235 he joined the Nicaeans in an attack upon the Latin Kingdom of Constantinople and gained Philippopolis thereby. They met with defeat, however, at Constantinople and Asen drifted away from the Greeks, withdrew his daughter from the Nicaean court where she was to have been married, and made an alliance with the Franks. On the death of

his wife and the Patriarch he restored his daughter to Nicaea, but continued to aid the Franks. In 1241 he died and the throne descended to his seven-year-old son, Kaliman.

In the period that followed internal dissensions grew, and whereas John Asen II had retained the central state authority by distributing land to the large landlords, this was a process which could not continue nor was there now any state authority strong enough to keep together what had come to be petty princelings. The central army which John Asen had built up was regarded by the feudal lords as a threat to them and the administrative system which he had instituted on the Byzantine model on his own lands was something they did not wish to see extended to theirs. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the Voivode Slav at Rhodope had separated from Bulgaria and another feudal lord named Strez had declared his independence and called on others to do the same. Now the process continued and in different parts of the country feudal lords, each playing his own hand, entered into alliance against the Tsar of Bulgaria with one or other of the country's enemies, Tartar, Hungarian, or other. The attempt to extend the country to the north led to the temporary loss of Vidin and, for a time, to the claim of Hungary to the Bulgarian throne.

In 1242 the country was wasted by a Mongol invasion, and to secure help Kaliman made an alliance with the Greek Emperor of Nicaea, Vatatzes, who then attacked the Bulgarian dominions while, in 1246, Kaliman died, some think of poison. His younger brother, Michael Asen, succeeded and his mother, a Greek, assumed the Regency. Rapidly, under the assaults of Vatatzes, half of the Bulgarian dominions fell away, and the attempt of Michael in alliance with Ragusa to restore them in 1253, at the expense of Serbia, was a complete fiasco. Later he tried again and for a time recovered the Rhodope, only again to lose it in the face of attacks in 1256 and 1257 which were led by the Emperor Theodore in person. His failure resulted in his slaughter by his cousin Kaliman, who was in turn assassinated in 1257, and with him the Asen dynasty came to an end.

The large landowners, or *boyars*, now elected Constantine, of Serbian descent, who legitimised himself by divorcing his wife and marrying a grand-daughter of John Asen II and taking the name of Asen. He succeeded in overcoming a rival claimant to the throne but failed to defend the country when it was attacked by a Greek Empire which had now recovered Constantinople from the Latins; all Bulgaria south of the Balkans was lost. Attacks from the Hungarians followed, Vidin was temporarily captured and the King of Hungary used the



title of King of Bulgaria. Despite his title he was compelled to withdraw and Constantine called in the aid of the Tartars against Constantinople, allowing himself to be bought off only by a marriage with the niece of the Greek Emperor which was, however, supported by a Greek alliance with Tartars.

This was a period of deep corruption in Bulgarian life. The active ruler was the Greek Queen, and various parts of the country entered into separate alliances with foreign enemies such as Tartars or Hungarians or Russians. The serfs became increasingly discontented and their lot was worsened by waves of Tartar raids between 1241 and 1300. One chieftain, James Svetlav, set himself up as Emperor of the Bulgarians, but was successfully suppressed. Then popular discontent rallied around the swineherd Ivanko who rose in 1277 and drove the Tartars from the country.

From this struggle the peasants had to turn aside to fight imperial troops sent to instal on the Bulgarian throne the candidate of Constantinople. Again they were successful. They captured Tirnov, and Ivanko was installed as the Tsar and strengthened his claim by marrying the widowed Tsarina.

The success involved in this, however, was only partial. Constantinople continued its attempts to bring the Bulgarian throne to heel, and the feudal lords (the *boyars*) did the same. To the latter Ivanko uttered threats but lacked the confidence to take measures against them, and he could only placate them by betraying the peasantry, which he did. There was no liberation for the serfs who necessarily therefore deserted Ivanko and he, seeking desperately for allies in his struggle against Byzantium, turned to his old enemies, the Tartars. The Tartars, however, betrayed him, and in 1280, while visiting the Tartar horde, he was killed. Not in his physical death, but in the moral betrayal which had preceded it the last hope of Bulgaria had been killed. Now the decline became rapid, and under Terteri I, Bulgaria became a Tartar fief. It was liberated from this ignominy by Svetslav, declined again under Terteri II, and then under Michael who came to the throne in 1323, it had a new problem to face.

From the second quarter of the fourteenth century onward a new series of attacks began, those of the Turks; and a declining army which neither *boyars* nor serfs would support, was not equipped to deal with such attacks. Nor were the Turks the only enemy. The Serb Kingdom was by now the chief power in the Balkan Peninsula, and was busily extending itself. In 1330 the Serb triumph was complete; the Bulgarian Tsar Michael Shishman, son of the first ruler of the independent

kingdom of Vidin, was defeated and killed at the Battle of Velboudzh (Kynstendil), and the Serb Tsar Stefan achieved an overlordship of the Bulgarian Kingdom, and called himself the Tsar of the Bulgars. In Serbia too, however, similar forces were at work to those in Bulgaria and Stefan Dusan's Empire did not survive him. It split into fragments on his death and there were then three Bulgarian states in Macedonia, one at Tirnov, one at Vidin, and another in the north in the Dobrudja (so-called after its ruler Dobroditius).

The outstanding Bulgarian Tsar of this period was Ivan Alexander (1331-71). He saw the Turkish danger as few others did and did all he could to avert it by diplomatic means. But this, as whole generations of Bulgarians were destined to learn, was not a diplomatic problem. The only hope against the rising power of the Turk was a completely united Bulgaria and, more than that, a united Slavdom throughout the peninsula. The people cried out for an alliance with the Greeks against the danger. Unfortunately this unity did not exist. Some degree of unity was achieved too late and in 1389 Bulgars and Serbs and Montenegrins were together decisively defeated by the Sultan Murad I at Kosovo Polye, the Field of Blackbirds, in 1389. Thereafter Tirnov resisted heroically, but fell in 1393. In the same year the Dobrudja passed to Wallachia. By now, others could see the danger because what the Bulgars and the Serbs were defending was not merely the Balkans, not merely Slavdom, nor merely the Orthodox Church: they were defending the whole of Europe. So the Pope called for a crusade against the Turks and the Crusade of Nicopolis was led by King Sigismund of Hungary.

The Latin Kingdom of Constantinople brought to an end the glory of Byzantine culture and by so doing it liberated Bulgarian art and created the conditions in which, on its Byzantine background, it could go its own way. So the second Bulgarian Kingdom saw the full flowering of Bulgarian medieval art and culture as the remarkable frescoes in the church at Boyana show. Right up to the last days of the kingdom the work of scholarship continued as is well shown by the works of the last of the patriarchs of an independent Tirnov, Effimi,\* which include the Life of John of Rila, of Hilarion Bishop of Maglen, of St. Filotee, of the Holy Parasevea, the *Praise of Constantine and Helen*, and translations of the Liturgies of St. James, John Chrysostom, and Basil. Needless to say all these works were in Slav.

In political life as well as culture the country was outstanding, for

\* He became the Patriarch of the Bulgarian Church in 1375 and remained so until Tirnov was occupied by the Turks in 1403.

the Bulgarians were the first Balkan people to throw off the yoke of Byzantium and the last to submit to the Turk. Scholarship was mainly in history and Slav language, but other subjects were not ignored. The archbishop, John Kamatir (1143-80), for example, published works on astronomy, although it has to be noted that they were strangely blended with astrology.

The earlier of the later crusades had not neglected Bulgaria, which was very much in the foreground of Western European thinking. The Dominican Guillaume Adam in his *De Modo* in which he discusses the best routes for crusades to take in order to succour (or capture) Constantinople, prefers the land route by Hungary and Bulgaria for what he calls the "Passagium generale". The idea of this was to make it possible to conquer the Empire of Constantinople and subdue the Turks in Asia Minor on the way to the Holy Land. Burcard's *Directorium ad Philippum regem* addressed to the French King, puts Germany and Hungary and Bulgaria as the fourth route leading to Constantinople. It was a good and easy route and was the one actually adopted by princes and nobles of France, Germany, Languedoc, Guienne and Brittany as well as Peter the Hermit. Burcard strongly urges its use and makes it clear that what he really wants is a crusade against the Eastern Church, the Byzantine Empire and the Kingdom of Serbia, and only after that against Asia and the Moslems. He even discusses the possibility of Tartar aid against Constantinople. That this was no isolated opinion is shown by the work of Philippe de Mezieres who wrote his *Songe du vieil Pelerin* in 1389 and who urged Germans and Hungarians to travel direct by land in order to recover the Empire of Constantinople and the Kingdom of Thrace and Bulgaria for Catholicism and in so doing to cast the Turk out of Europe. Rudolph von Sudheim again mentions the Bulgarian route in his *De Itinerere Terre Sancta*. What all this meant in practice was shown in 1366 when Amadeo VI of Savoy turned aside from his course to wage war against the Bulgarians.

The Crusade of Nicopolis was not without its antecedents. In 1361 the Sultan Murad I had conquered Adrianople and Philippopolis. The answer to this was the crusade of Pope Urban V of 1363 which had included the King of Serbia, the Angevin King Louis I of Hungary and the Princes of Bosnia and Wallachia. It was defeated at Maritsa and its defeat precipitated the downfall of Bulgaria and its division into three kingdoms—one under Sinisha which was Bogomil, one under Stracimir which was Orthodox, and one under Dobrutius which was Catholic. Louis now continued to harrass Bulgaria from the north,

wishing to annexe Vidin. Frightful atrocities were committed by the Hungarian soldiers, and Franciscans, betraying the name of their founder, resorted to forced conversions of the Bulgarian people, and created the situation in which many of them preferred capitulation to the Turk rather than Latinisation.

In 1366 both Stracimir in the north and Simisha in the south capitulated to Murad. In 1388 Simisha revolted and then had to flee. Vidin fell in 1396 although both Bogomil and Orthodox were granted freedom of rite. The west, however, continued the crusade and in 1394 Pope Boniface IX issued the Bull *Cogimur ex debita charitate*, proclaiming a crusade in Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia and Slovenia. Again in 1394, on 15 October, he issued a further Bull *ad apostolatus nostris* extending the call to Treviso, Venice, Grado, Salzburg, and Austria. Germany and France joined the crusade, which took place in 1396, and England provided a contingent of 1000 men. It was a disgraceful affair and in the words of its most recent historian it committed "merciless atrocities" in the Christian Balkans. It did more harm to the people to whose support it had allegedly come than it did to their adversaries, although it captured Vidin which was under the governorship of a Bulgarian prince (probably Stracimir) under Turkish suzerainty, who surrendered without resistance, and then Rjahovo\* and then laid siege to Nicopolis. Before the walls of Nicopolis it broke down and was decisively defeated and massacred. That was the end of the crusades and it sealed the fate of the Balkans. Small wonder that Wiclif regarded the crusades as of "the law of anti-Christ".

So the Bulgarian Kingdom came to an end. Thereafter the Turks conquered the Vidin Kingdom of Ivan Stracimir who had allowed the crusades to cross his lands, and also the principedom of the Dobrudja.

\* Oriahovo on the Danube.

## UNDER THE TURKISH YOKE

It was as a result of the pressure of the Mongol Empire in the eleventh century that the Oghouz tribal group known as Kai were driven out of Khorassan into Anatolia where they founded the Seljuk State which more than once clashed with the Byzantine Empire. In the thirteenth century this Seljuk Empire declined and became dependent upon the Mongol Khans. A number of independent semi-feudal emirates emerged in its territory, such as those of the Mentesh, Aidun, Kermiyan, and Saroukhan. One of these emirates in North-western Anatolia eventually developed into the Ottoman State. Socially this State was at a far lower level than the Byzantine Empire or any of the Balkan nations. As late as the thirteenth century, primitive communal systems survived within it and the first sultans were tribal chiefs turned feudalist. Their way of life was still that of semi-nomadic herdsmen, whereas both a money economy and town life had grown among the Balkan peoples.

As the Seljuk Turks, once possessors of an empire, declined, the Ottoman Turks waxed stronger and as they waxed stronger their gaze was fixed ever more firmly on Constantinople. So they crossed the Bosphorus, they threatened, they raided, and in doing so they probed the hostilities and divisions and weaknesses of the Christians across the water and armed with this knowledge they invaded, and, as we have already seen, they conquered. The conquest took place step by step. They gained a firm foothold in the country by the capture of the fortress Simpe in 1352 and were then able to launch an all-out offensive for the conquest of the entire Balkan Peninsula and with the capture of Odrin (Adrianople) in 1363 they opened the way to the interior. In 1371 the Christian troops, led by the feudal rulers of Macedonia, Valkashin and Ouglesha, attempted to resist, but were routed at Chirmen. Soon after this a number of fortresses in South-eastern Bulgaria together with the Black Sea ports, fell into the hands of the Turks, who also penetrated into Macedonia. A contemporary observer reports that "the Turks spread and swarmed over the whole land like birds in the sky. Some of the Christians were massacred,

others carried off into slavery, while those who remained were decimated by starvation and those who were still alive envied those who had died earlier." In 1382 Sofia was captured despite a heroic resistance. Nish soon followed suit. In 1387 the Turks suffered a major setback at Plochnik at the hands of the troops of the Serbian Prince Lazar and the Bosnian King, Turdko. The last Bulgarian Tsar, Ivan Shishman, who had become a vassal of the Sultan not long before, now reasserted his independence. In 1388 the Turks sent a large army against him which succeeded in capturing a number of fortresses in the eastern part of North Bulgaria. Shishman secured himself in the fortress of Nicopolis where he put up a heroic resistance but was soon compelled to yield. In 1389 there came the decisive Turkish victory of Kossovo which brought Serbia to an end and drove the Wallachian Prince Mircho to recognise the Sultan's overlordship. In 1393 the Turks captured Tirnovo and three years later succeeded in imposing their rule in the Vidin Kingdom ruled by Ivan Stratsimir. As they conquered they destroyed. Tirnovo became a heap of ruins; towns and villages were burned; there were wholesale massacres and the most precious monuments of Bulgarian culture were destroyed. The normal development of the Bulgarian people was interrupted and a severe blow was struck at its economic life and its civilisation. The main cause of this tragedy was not the superior strength of the Turkish invader but the feudal atomisation of the Bulgarian State and the weakening of the central power within it. It was because it was divided into three parts that it could not survive. For all this it did not succumb lightly and the Bulgarian people put up a fierce resistance which was, however, betrayed by the *boyars*, who were more concerned with their petty rivalries than with organising a united resistance. The cause of the Bulgarian defeat has been reviewed in the last chapter. The present chapter has to be read against the general background of Turkish history.

In 1394 Turkish rule was extended to Egypt. In 1396 the western crusade of Nicopolis had temporary, but no lasting success, and the real danger to the Turks came from the Tartars who achieved a victory in 1402 which gave them command of Anatolia. Under Mohammed I (1413-21), however, Turkish dominions in Asia Minor were extended. Under the next ruler, Murad II (1421-51), Turkish conquest continued and Salonika fell in 1430 and further advance was only checked by a ferocious defence in Hungary. In 1446, however, Corinth, Patrar and the north of Greece fell, and despite the heroic resistance of Skanderbeg in Albania the Hungarians were defeated at a further battle of Kossovo in 1448. Then, in 1453, Constantinople itself fell to Mohammed II, and

after this Serbia, Wallachia, Bosnia, and Albania were conquered one by one. Venice was compelled to agree to a treaty and the Crimea was overrun. The Turkish naval victory of Lepanto over Venice came in 1499. In the sixteenth century Turkish conquest continued under Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-66) who captured Belgrade, and finally, in 1526, the whole of Hungary. War continued in Persia and on the Asian frontier. In the second part of the sixteenth century Turkish naval power was checked at Lepanto (1571) but conquest continued in Georgia and Daghestan. By the end of the century the constant attacks on the Turkish Empire from east and west were beginning to have some success. War between Turkey and Persia or Austria or the Caucasian countries became endemic and with the seventeenth century Turkish power had already begun to decline, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century was already beginning to have to cede territory to neighbouring States. In 1774 by the treaty of Kuchuk Kaynarji, Russia gained considerable concessions from the Turks and from this time onward the "Eastern Question" became a dominant factor in European politics. Russia, Austria and Napoleon's France all attacked in turn and in 1798 Turkey was compelled to join the second coalition against Napoleon in self-defence. The era of revolts began when the Greeks arose in 1821 and Greek independence was secured by the Battle of Navarino in 1827. Following this a Russo-Turkish war led to a new régime for the Danubian principalities in 1832 and the loss to Turkey of Syria. Bosnia and Albania revolted; the French occupied Algiers in 1830, and in 1833 the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi saved Turkey by granting major concessions to Russia. The Crimean War did something to reverse this situation but nothing could save the Turkish Empire which was dying from a combination of internal corruption and the hatred of the peoples it had oppressed for so long. Bosnia and Herzegovina rebelled in 1875, and first Bulgaria and then Serbia and Montenegro followed suit in 1876 and it was out of these events that there arose the Russo-Turkish War and the liberation of Bulgaria.

From their conquests the Turks sought two things, one was plunder and the other was military power. Those who were ready to become Moslems, never more than a very small minority, were permitted to join the master-people.\* The rest existed to pay taxes, and, under the Turkish domination and from the Turkish viewpoint, this became the

\* The mass of the Turkish people were, of course, themselves oppressed. Those Bulgarians who did become Moslems were of the aristocracy. So Alexander, son of Tsar Ivan Shishman, became a Moslem and was made the Governor of the Smyrna region.

chief Christian function. Adrianople then became the centre of an Empire of Christian taxpayers which extended from the Taurus Range on one side and to Hungary and Rumania on the other, the function of which was to encircle and menace Constantinople. To aid in this purpose a large number of Christian youths a year were recruited to the Janissaries, a military force which the Turks had created at an earlier period. They were indoctrinated not merely with the military skill of what was almost an order but with its ideas which were primarily those of the Moslem sect of the Baktashi. It was a closely knit military community which was highly disciplined and well paid and which played its part when, in 1453, the ambition of more than a century was achieved and Ottoman expansion into the Balkans reached its consummation when Constantinople fell to the Sultan Mohammed the Second and a whole era of European history was brought to an end.

The Turks took over the ancient city of Byzantium: they did not take over its culture and from 1396 to 1878, for nearly half a millennium, Bulgaria lay under the Turkish yoke, under the yoke that is to say, of a ruling nation and a ruling class that made no single contribution to art, music, education, science, technique or any of the finer things of human life. Yet right through that period the Bulgarian people survived, and when, finally, they emerged from it they were in no way Turkish; they were still Bulgarian. Always they resisted successfully Turkish attempts to assimilate them. There was, indeed, but little ideology, little intellectual life of any kind, to which anybody might be assimilated. The very paucity of Turkish life compelled them in practice to leave to those they had conquered the riches of their own life. This real Bulgarian life lived on, as we shall see, in many forms, in the monasteries, in the churches, in religious associations, in schools, in folk-songs and in folk-art. At no time during these near five hundred years did it cease to exist.

The Turks themselves did not even acknowledge the existence of such an entity as Bulgaria. They organised the whole of the Balkan Peninsula, with the exception of Bosnia, as *Rumili*, which means "Greek land", and they placed the whole of it under an official who was known as the *Beglerbeg* and who had his headquarters at Sofia. The peninsula was then further divided into twenty-six *sandjaks* ruled over by lesser officials and when Bulgarian nobles were found who were ready to betray their own people and serve the Turks they were allowed to rise to this position.

Bulgaria itself was divided into three *sandjaks* of Vidin, Nicopolis and Silistria. This administrative change, however, was by no means



the most important change that was brought by Turkish rule. Together with it came a change in land-ownership. The land became a part of the Sultan's State land-fund which in turn distributed it in temporary heredity to feudal lords. The Bulgarian peasants were thus subjected to a dual feudal yoke in both cases from foreign oppressors. Bulgarian *boyars*, some of whom were executed and others of whom, unless they turned Moslem, lost their privileges, were replaced by Turks; on the basis of this new land-ownership there began an intensified persecution of the peasantry. So the bulk of the Bulgarian people were completely subjugated, became devoid of rights, and were known contemptuously to the Turks, who could have no social intercourse with them of any kind, as the *Raya*—"the herd".\*

The economic organisation of the country was completely feudal. The Sultan was regarded as the supreme owner of all land but large areas of it he transferred to the use of feudal overlords who were known as *spahias* and who provided military service. Some land was alienated for the use of mosques and of other Moslem institutions and was known as the *Wakf* Lands. Other land, under overlords, was transferred to immigrant Turkish peasants who were placed in particularly fertile or in strategically important areas. In broad outline this resembled the feudal land-owning system as it was known to the West of Europe and to England. There was, however, this important difference, that in the latter case, although he was tied to the soil, the serf had certain clearly enunciated rights which eased his lot. In Bulgaria the overlord was a foreigner who admitted no rights to his serf whatsoever. The Bulgarian serf had always two sets of duties which were never considered the one against the other; the one, which included the payment of a land-tax and the recruitment of his sons between the ages of five and seven who later became janissaries, was to the State;† the other was a mass of dues and services which had to be given to the *Spahias*. The poll-tax collected from all non-Moslem men between the ages of fifteen and seventy-five was only one tax. A "tithe" ranged from one-tenth to a half of the land value and there was also a land-tax as well as various fees. There were certain exceptions to this general rule of groups who were freed from some land-taxes but who were obliged instead to perform specific tasks such as bearing the baggage of the army, acting as military police on the mountain passes, and so forth.

This was not just a feudal system; it was a military feudal system,

\* The term was also applied to the Turkish peasants.

† Every fourth year until 1676 one out of every five Christian boys between the ages of six and nine was carried off.

and whereas in the west the feudal system led to a vigorous economic life and to the growth of towns and commerce, here it strangled what had been a vigorous economic life. Trade ground to a standstill and the expulsion of Bulgarians from the towns led to their economic and material decline. In the first centuries of Turkish rule handicrafts and home trade were in the hands of foreigners and chiefly of Greeks, whereas the declining foreign trade fell into the hands of Venetians, Genoese and the merchants of Dubrovnik. The Turks, it is to be noted, figure in none of these categories. The towns lost their character in this general deterioration and Philippopolis became a village of wood, straw, and mud huts. The population deserted the towns as the crafts declined and their chief occupants became Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Turks. By the end of the sixteenth century two-thirds of the population of Sofia, which remained the chief city, was Turkish. The towns, which still housed some of the Bulgarian nobility, were important military strongholds but they became also, as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, commercial and craft centres. At first there was some attempt by the Turks to improve the roads, and colonies of peasants were formed to do the work, but it was not maintained. The Black Sea was closed to foreign ships and as the Turkish advance into Europe dried up European commerce to the east through the Levant, it played a major part in compelling the voyages of discovery which turned Western European trade towards the Atlantic, a by-product of which was a further decrease of Bulgarian trade, a trickle of which now survived only through Venice. There was a major decline in population.

To the intolerable political and economic oppression by the Turks, there was added an equally ruthless spiritual oppression by the Greek Church. In 1394, the See of Tirnovo had been subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and from that time on Greek bishops and Greek liturgical books replaced the Bulgarian bishops who were banished and the Slav liturgy which was banned. This happened to all the Slav Churches of the Balkans except the Patriarchate of Ochrida which survived until 1767 and was a focal point for the inculcation of the Slav tradition. With this domination of the Church by a foreign Patriarch who was totally subordinate to the Sultan, there went a remarkable degree of pecuniary corruption so that there came to be hardly any office in the Church which could not be bought or sold. This hellenisation of the Bulgarian Church opened the way to the hellenisation of the Bulgars and it says much for the barbarous sagacity of the Turkish rulers that they saw the chance, because of the ancient

claims of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, to use one subject-people to denationalise another subject-people. The whole policy was a two-pronged one and the other part of the fork was the attempt to turn the Bulgarians into Turks by making them Moslems and giving them Turkish clothes and some privileges. The small group who succumbed to this, mainly in the Rhodopes, were known as the Pomaks. They were placed in control of strategically important villages and those of the Rhodope were left alone in their mountains, governed by their own Beys, and paid no taxes. Their whole outlook was nearer to that of the Turks than that of the oppressed Bulgarians. The policy worked only to a degree and a high percentage of the Bulgarian monasteries remained centres and guardians of Bulgarian culture and in the preservation of their Slav heritage they were greatly assisted by the help which was given them by the Russian Church. In the fifteenth century the restored Rila Monastery in particular, became a centre of Bulgarian life and a centre of pilgrimage, and continued to be such until it was destroyed by fire in January 1833. The restoration began in the same year and the monastery continued its work.

Of less importance, but not without its significance, is the story of Roman Catholicism in Bulgaria. The clergy concerned were mainly Franciscans of the Province of the Immaculate Conception. The Friars Minor were sent into Bulgaria first in 1245 and in 1291. In 1365 eight friars were sent in from Bosnia and by 1385 they were established in the country and linked up with the ecclesiastical organisation of Hungary and Transylvania. The first Apostolic Visitor of Bulgaria, Brother Ambrosius of Ragusa, was appointed in 1565, and, although friars were sometimes imprisoned, Father Petrus a Soli had become Bishop of Sofia by 1610. The chief effort of the Catholics in the period that followed was to win over the remnant of the Paulicians and in this they had some success. Bogdan Baksic, Archbishop of Sofia, even translated the *Meditations* of St. Bonaventura into the Paulician dialect. By 1630 schools were being established and by 1637 there was both a regular and a secular clergy. By 1643 Bulgaria was divided into dioceses and had thirty-seven priests. They played no part in the story of national revolt although many of the merchants were Catholics, except insofar as they supported Austrian attempts to "liberate" Bulgaria in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were a part of the general Austrian claims on the Turkish Empire and which had the aim of catholicising Bulgaria. They lost ground after the failure of the Chiprovetz rebellion of 1688. In the main Bulgarian Catholicism served the expansionist aims of western States but there were exceptions

of which the chief was the Archbishop Peter Pardevich who toured the courts of Western Europe to plead, in vain, for enslaved Bulgaria.

In the early days of Turkish rule Bulgarian books were still produced in Sofia. The practice was then forbidden and the books were destroyed by the Greek Clergy (the Phanariots as they were called), who committed the crowning infamy of burning the ancient library of the Patriarch of Tirnovo: this general destruction of books is one of the major difficulties which stands in the way of any attempt to make a detailed reconstruction of the period of Turkish rule in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian language and Slav literature was proscribed and Greek became the language of the schools.

The conquered countries were naturally affected by the problems of the conqueror. At the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Ottoman Turks were threatened by Timur (Tamberlane) and his Tartars and were saved only by his return to Samarkand; there were savage struggles for the succession after the death of Vayazid the conqueror of Bulgaria between 1403 and 1413; under Mohammed the First (1413-21) there were expeditions against Hungary; in the time of Murad the Second (1421-51) new masses of Turks from Asia flooded into the Balkan Peninsula; in 1441 the Turks were driven out of Serbia; in 1443 a war between the Slav peoples and Murad was fought out between Sofia and Philippopolis—it was led by Hungary and had it been successful it would have involved the latinisation of Bulgaria. The troops of Vladislav Varnensky and the Transylvanian Voivode John Hunyadi were composed of Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, and Serbs, who were overwhelmingly supported by the Bulgarian peasants who saw the hope of liberation.

In 1444 the Christians suffered a resounding defeat at Varna; then the defeat of Germans and Hungarians and Albanians under Skanderbeg in 1448 buried for generations the hope of a south Slav revival. The burial of this hope was the signal for the downfall of Constantinople in 1453 which transformed the whole situation in South-east Europe. Later in the century the country was invaded by Vlad the Fifth of Wallachia who carried away both Bulgarians and Turks to the number of nearly 25,000 and impaled them all.

After Constantinople the Turks went on to extend and consolidate their conquests. Except for certain points held by Venice they had the whole of the mainland of Greece by 1460; in 1471 they took Eube; in 1461 they took the Empire of Trebizond; in 1462 the island of Lesbos; in 1459 Serbia became a province; in 1463 Bosnia was annexed; in 1459 Albania fell; in 1479 it was the turn of the western islands of Greece;

the further the conquests extended more did hope fall. Still the Empire grew and when Suleiman ("The Magnificent") came to the throne (1520-66) it was the turn of Belgrade, which fell in 1521. After that came the Battle of Mohacs (1526) and the downfall of Hungary.

Turkish power reached its zenith under Suleiman. It was also under him that it began to decline. Turkish feudal land-ownership now became hereditary in character, the feudal lords became more independent, and central power was weakened. The Sultan now ceased to have direct control of all the administration and the power of Viziers and their women increased. Taxes were farmed out to Greeks and Jews and others, with the result that the imperial revenue diminished while the burdens of oppression born by the peoples grew and it was no accident that Suleiman's successor, Salim the Second (1566-74) ("The Drunkard") suffered at the naval battle of Lepanto (1571), the first major defeat of Turkish arms. The military force and the entire administration began to stagnate. Taxes mounted. In 1593 it seemed that Austria and Hungary would again defeat Turkey but she rallied, and in 1596 these invading Catholic forces, from whom the Bulgarians could expect nothing but forced conversion, were driven out of the country.

### Protest

It is not to be thought that this suppression of a people was lightly borne and the fact is that the Ottoman conquest went a long way to reunite the Bulgarian people who had been diminished by massacres and forced conversions and politically fragmented. Now the people were driven together again by oppression and it was the peasant village community, which still had some existence as exercising a group-ownership of common waste and pasture, which became the centre of resistance. There had been resistance from the very beginning. Now passive resistance, which took the form of emigration to the forests, was combined with the active resistance of partisan warfare, but although the Turkish Empire had now passed its zenith the lack of unity in South-east Europe condemned the resistance to failure. Within a few years of Bulgaria's defeat, in 1403, the surviving representatives of its royal families raised the standard of revolt in territory adjacent to Serbia. The revolt was cruelly suppressed. In 1444 yet another attempt was made in combination with a Hungarian assault from outside. It was decisively defeated at the Battle of Varna although its leader, John Hunyadi, managed to withdraw with a small part of his troops.

This was a major defeat and it brought the era of revolts to an end for a century. Then, in 1595, an abortive rising took place which was linked with a war between the Prince of Transylvania and the Turks in Rumania. Again it failed. But this was not the end of the story although no more large-scale revolts took place until the nineteenth century. Revolt there was, however, as constant as it was sporadic. This was the movement, celebrated in Bulgarian songs, of the Haiduks, a movement which has no written history but which enshrines the stories of a whole category of popular local rebel leaders who moved generally with only small bands and led a Robin Hood kind of life in the forests and mountains, supporting the poor and attacking the foreign oppressor. They were the idols of the people and a mass of song and stories extols their doings. The great leaders mentioned in songs included Chavdar, Lalo, Strakhil, and Manoush, and women chiefs such as Elena, Todorka, Borianna, Pena, and Sirma. They had a reputation for extreme chivalry to women and they certainly included women within their ranks. They raided the caravans and attacked scattered Turks and large numbers of them buried their arms when the winter came and disappeared among the people. The Sultan always feared lest their extent should be known abroad and reveal the degree of popular resistance to his rule and his merciless oppression of such revolt. If caught the rebels were impaled alive before the gates of towns and afterwards their heads were nailed to the gates in order to terrorise the rest of the population. As a result of this many Bulgarians fled to the Ukraine and to Russia, still sustained by the legend of Uncle Ivan—the Liberator who was to come.

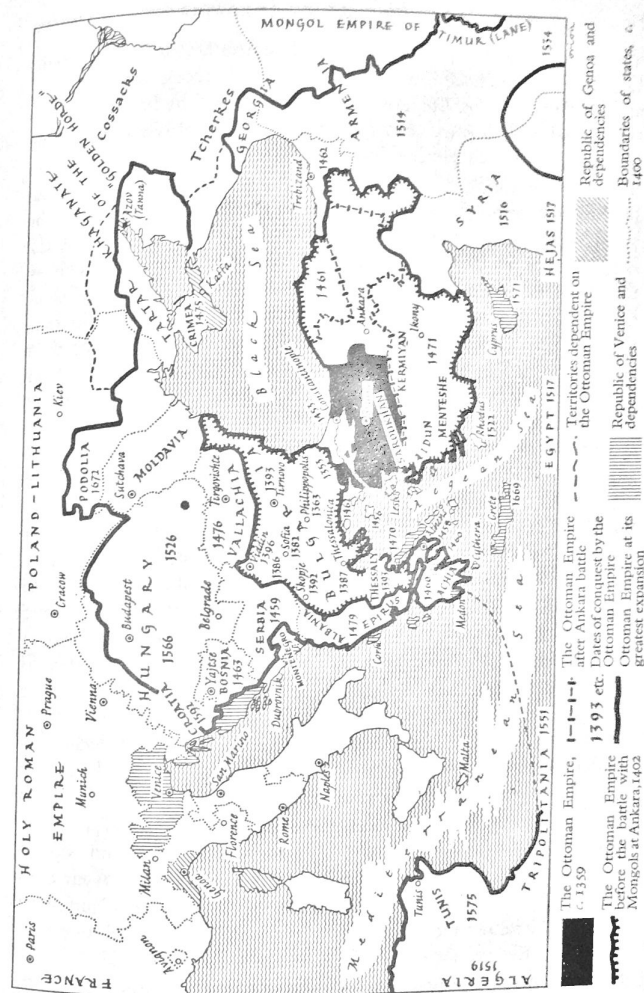
Increased exactions from the people from the end of the sixteenth century onwards went side by side with arbitrary tyranny on the part of the Spahias and a deepening tradition of every conceivable kind of abuse by officials and an increasing policy of enforced Turkisation (or whatever is the correct word for the attempt to turn people into Turks). The building of churches or the ringing of bells was forbidden; dress regulations were issued; girls were taken for harems. The result was an ever deeper indignation of the people and as the years passed by a succession of military leagues of European peoples aimed against Turkey and a succession of Turkish defeats facilitated the growth of connections between the Bulgarian people and their neighbours. Particularly important in this connection was Dubrovnik, the merchants of which had become the chief link between Bulgaria and other countries. It is not surprising, therefore, that the leader of the next significant revolt was himself a merchant. This revolt, led by

Gheorgeich, broke out in and around Tirmovo in 1598. It was badly organised and the rebels were poorly armed and were relying heavily on assistance which had been promised them a year before by the Austrian Emperor. It was a dubious sort of help, however, and the imperial honour crumbled into dust when the moment came and no help was given. The result then was inevitable and the rising was crushed. Again there were savage reprisals escaped only by some of the leaders and a number of the participants who fled to Russia. To such a low ebb had Bulgarian life now fallen that its last refuge in the monasteries appeared to be crumbling. Many of them were now deserted and in 1657 thirty-three monasteries and 218 churches were destroyed in the Rhodopes alone and the people compelled to become Moslems.

The next important rising came in 1686 and was linked up with the creation of a European coalition against Turkey, in which Russia participated and with the Austro-Turkish War of 1683-99. The rising began at Tirmovo and it was led by Rotislav Stratsimirovich who claimed to be a descendant of the old Kings of Vidin and who had become affianced to the niece of the Russian patriarch Joachim who helped him. At first this rebellion made some headway and Rotislav was proclaimed king in Tirmovo; he was joined by the people of Sredets. They were soon, however, surrounded by Turkish forces and overwhelmed. The Sofia population rose after the Tirmovo outbreak had been suppressed. In 1688 the first great Bulgarian rising took place in Chiprovets, a mining centre, at a time when the Austrians were invading Serbia. It was led by merchants and craftsmen, outstanding among whom were George Peyachevich, B. Marinov, the brothers Stanislavov and L. Andrenin. Catholic and Orthodox were united in it but its leaders lacked military experience and it was crushed, and Chiprovets was razed to the ground. Many Bulgarian families then emigrated to Hungary and Wallachia and one of its chief results was the emigration of Bulgarians to the Banat. From this time on there was no end of risings and partisan activities in the mountains until the day of liberation eventually came. In 1689 a revolt broke out in Western Bulgaria and Macedonia as a by-product of the penetration there of Austrian troops. Others followed in the eighteenth century.

During the latter part of Turkish rule the Bulgarian economy began to change and with the change the struggle of the Bulgarian people against their Turkish overlords was intensified.

In the period which has been discussed Bulgarian cultural traditions were preserved despite the harsh conditions in which the people lived.



4. GREATEST EXPANSION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE



The monasteries were the main cultural centres and in them ancient books and products of Bulgarian art, such as frescoes, woodcarvings and vessels were kept. Bulgarian books were copied by hand and there was considerable literary activity. Sofia, Vratsa, Kratovo and the Rila Monastery were all famous literary centres in which such men as Vladislav Gramatik (fifteenth century) and Joseph the Bearded (eighteenth century), worked. Other important writers were the priests Peya, Mathew and Lambadarius in the sixteenth century, the monk Pimen in the early seventeenth century, Parteniya Pavlov in the eighteenth century, and the anonymous author of the *Bulgarian Chronicle* in the nineteenth century. A number of learned Bulgarians worked abroad in Moldavia, Serbia, and Russia, and chief among these were Gregory Tsamblak, a pupil of the last Bulgarian Patriarch Eftimi and another of his pupils, Constantine Kostenechky. The first printed Bulgarian book was published by the monk Macarius in 1508. In the sixteenth century Jacob Kraikov from Sofia developed the work of printing Bulgarian books, although the first book to be printed with elements of modern Bulgarian was Philip Stanislavov's *Abagar* in 1651. The first Bulgarian secular book, Hristofor Djapharovitch's *Stematology* appeared in Vienna at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Right through this period, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, folk-lore flourished. In thousands of stories, proverbs and songs the Bulgarian people bemoaned their fate and extolled the Haiduks. They continued, too, to express their national feeling in arts and crafts, in architecture especially in churches, in painting, and in woodcarving.

Throughout the second part of the eighteenth century feudal relations in the entire Turkish Empire were in a state of decline and modern capitalist relations were beginning to intrude themselves. Instead of rent being paid in kind, landlords began to demand that it be paid in money. Crown lands were taken by the feudal lords and land-owning became hereditary. The result of all this again was that the exploitation of the peasants increased and with it there went a new exploitation which was begun against the small Bulgarian landowners while at the same time new rights were given to local Turkish officials to become the owners of land. Justice was bought and sold. A further result of this whole process was a change in the composition of the towns as impoverished small farmers and peasants left the country and fled to the towns. Plovdiv became the most beautiful town of European Turkey. This process was particularly marked in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. At the same time with the stirring of capitalism throughout Europe, trade was developing and with it went a new

development of handicrafts. A guild organisation of handicraftsmen grew up and was Bulgarian in composition, but more and more the working artisans became dependent on the master-craftsman and the relationship of employer and employed began to arise. At the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century there were sixty guilds in Sofia of which only six were Turkish; twenty-five were wholly Bulgarian and the rest were mixed. Crafts were now highly specialised and there was a marked location of industry. Sliven, for example, made jackets; Plovdiv specialised in textiles, especially the heavy woollen jacket known as the *abbat*. The copper trade revived. Kreshencil made goods of copper, silver and gold; Kratovo of copper and silver; Dubnitsa of copper; Chiprovetz specialised in jewel artistry. For all this the Turkish guilds were given privileges both in the supply of raw materials and in markets. In addition to the growth of crafts there was a marked increase in animal husbandry partly stimulated by enclosures, and a considerable trade grew up in animals and on market days great crowds of people assembled in the towns. For this reason Rusie became known as "an ant's nest" and it was estimated that 13,000 people would be in Pravadia on market days. Even so privileges were still given to foreign merchants to the disadvantage of the Bulgarians but for all that the opening of the Levant and the Black Sea was a marked stimulus to general economic life.

A powerful stimulus to the whole economic development of the country was also given by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji of 1774 at the end of the Russo-Turkish War which opened the Straits and granted Russian merchants freedom to trade in the Turkish dominions. Following this there was a considerable development of local fairs demonstrating the increase of internal trade. This increase in trade and commerce began to split the Bulgarian upper and middle classes, the privileged cattle traders and the tax farmers (*chorbadji*) being closely connected with the Turks and opposed to the idea of liberation, and the heavily restricted small industrialists who were arising, favouring the idea of liberation. The new commercial-manufacturing class which arose with the decay of Turkish feudalism and the use of a money economy, played a vital part in the events which were now to come.

#### Rebirth

It was in association with these economic developments that there came in the eighteenth century a great awakening of the national consciousness which is generally known as the Bulgarian renaissance. This renaissance was made possible by the faithful witness to the Slav

tradition of the Bulgarian monasteries, chiefly those of Hilendar and Zograph on the monastic colony of Mount Athos from where they were able to pass on to Bulgaria itself the assistance of the Russian Church, and in Bulgaria those of Rila and Bachkovo. It was at Rila that Joseph the Bearded did work which joined the stream of the popular half-theological, half-folk works known as the Damaskini and the general stream of folk-tales, songs and epics, one of the predominant themes of which was the hare and giant, King Marko. The *haiduk* songs were, again, outstanding. The renaissance received its chief symbol when the first Bulgarian history was written in Bulgarian by the monk Paisy five years after the suppression of Ochrida as an answer to the challenge which this suppression had created. The book was called: *Slav-Bulgarian History, A History of the Bulgarian Peoples, Tsars and Saints* and was composed chiefly of translations of the early Bulgarian chronicles. Paisy came from the Samokov eparchy, probably from the town of Bansko. His book was not printed until the nineteenth century but it was circulated in manuscript copies. He became a foremost opponent of the attempts of the Greek clergy and merchants to hellenise the people and to this end he called for the preservation of the language and for a general national development. Out of this and the general struggle for cultural autonomy of which it was a part there arose a replacement both of the monastic schools which had done much to keep the national consciousness alive, and the Greek lay schools, by a new series of national schools. Nor was this a movement which confined itself to language and education. It spread to every department of art and Plovdiv can still show a house built in the highly distinctive turreted style of the Bulgarian renaissance.

Paisy's work was continued by Bishop Sofronii of Vratsa (1739-1815) who was often beaten by the Turks and in danger of dying. His autobiography is one of the masterpieces of Bulgarian literature. A new Bulgarian literature now began to arise, much of it in Macedonia. Hadji Joakim of Kitchève and Cyril of Tritova published in 1814 and 1816 the first works in modern Bulgarian based on Macedonian dialects. Neophyte Rilski published the first Bulgarian grammar and the first modern Bulgarian New Testament in 1840. Raiko Jinzifov (1839-77) of Véles was one of the first modern Bulgarian poets. The first selection of folk-lore was published by the brothers Miladinoff of Strouga. Another of the new scholars, Grigor Perlichev of Ochrida (1830-92) translated the *Iliad* into Bulgarian. If these works and many others were to spread they had to be printed and a step of major importance was the establishment of the first Bulgarian press by Hadji Theodosi

in Salonika in 1838. The first Bulgarian geography book was written in 1835 by Neophyte Bezveli of the Hilendar monastery.

Side by side with the national renaissance a new type of rebel came into existence. The Peace of Belgrade in 1739 had again buried Bulgarian hopes and now more and more her people began to look to Russia for deliverance and no small encouragement was given to this idea by the scheme drawn up by Napoleon at Tilsit which gave Bulgaria and the Danube principalities to Russia. At the same time a new south Slav movement was coming into existence which led to an insurrection in Znapolye and Sofia in 1737. On this background, between 1794 and 1804, there grew up a new detachment of rebels known as the Kerdjli who lacked the chivalry of the Haiduks and who waged merciless war on the Turks but failed to make friends with the Bulgarian peasants. So serious did their movement become that one of their leaders, Osman Pasvanoglu, actually established himself as the "Pasha of Vidin" and, despite the Turks, levied taxes and minted his own coins. His army was large enough to enable him to defeat all the detachments that were sent against him to take Vidin by storm and he provided a refuge for the Kerdjli who were being increasingly depleted elsewhere. Only his death destroyed his cause and then some of his followers were bought off and incorporated into the Turkish forces, for the Turks well knew how to divide a people and how to bribe, and others were attacked and massacred. Added to the general degeneration, this resulted in so much destruction that a Frenchman travelling through the country disguised as a Tartar, described the stillness of the grave reigning over deserted fields with corpses and smouldering cottages marking the spot where peasants had been slaughtered or whence peasants had fled often enough only to fall a prey to wild beasts.

The situation of the Bulgarian people who had suffered so much was black indeed, but the dawn was at hand—a dawn of struggle.

## REBIRTH AND LIBERATION

AS WE NOW come to the period of the liberation of Bulgaria, it is vital to notice the international background against which it took place. The economic system which is known as capitalism had become deeply entrenched in England and in other countries, although it had made but little impact upon the Turkish area. Now capitalism was receiving an enormous impetus by virtue of the great advance in technique which is known as the industrial revolution. So, in Great Britain, which was the pioneer country in capitalism and industrialism, the Cannon Ironworks in Stirlingshire was finished in 1760, Brindley's Bridgewater Canal was begun in 1759, and from that period on, communications were improved and mechanical inventions chiefly relating to spinning and steam engines, increased apace. Big slum towns grew at an equal rate. The population rose by leaps and bounds and England was transformed from an agricultural to a manufacturing country.

These developments spread to the whole of Europe and their effects were everywhere felt. Their outstanding effect upon Europe, however, was a political one. In one country at least the rampant forces of capitalism burst the swathing bands of feudal relations and the result was the French Revolution.

The ideas of "liberty, equality and fraternity" went through Europe like a flame and the nations subjected to Turkish oppression could not but be affected. A great stimulus was given to ideas of national freedom, the sovereignty of the people, and of individual liberty, and nowhere more than in the vigorous republic of America from where, in turn, they reinfected Europe. Out of the revolutionary wars in defence of the French Republic there came a series of wars which played battledore and shuttlecock with the map of Europe. The Napoleonic Wars, as they became extended to Egypt and Syria and so threatened and weakened the power of Turkey, brought Russia into the anti-Napoleonic alliance and so not merely made a major contribution to the eventual defeat of Napoleon, but also stimulated the growth of the Tsarist Empire and the consequent weakening of the Turkish Empire.

War between Russia and Turkey was the next, and a fundamental stage, in the background to the liberation of Bulgaria. The interests of Turkey and Russia conflicted at many points and began to lead to a conflict which was barely veiled by the fact that both Russia and Turkey joined the Second Coalition against France in 1798, although even before this Russia and Turkey had been engaged in war and Russia had asserted a claim to protect Christians who were under Turkish domination. This claim had been written into the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774 which also bound the Turkish Government to respect the Christian clergy. Later in the Napoleonic Wars the Russians fought their way into Bulgaria and in 1810 they gained Plevna and other places, only to be driven back by Napoleon's march on Moscow; and it was at the end of the campaign that, in the Treaty of Bucharest, Russia was given Bessarabia. At first this may seem irrelevant to the story of Bulgaria, but in fact it was of considerable importance because it provided a place of refuge for victims of Turkish tyranny.

At this time Pasvanoglu was prominent among the Kerdjli, the semi-bandits who fought the rule of the Sultan. The Russian Army had issued leaflets appealing for the population to rise and these revolts increased, repression increased and exploitation increased as special taxes were levied and food requisitions were made. The population also suffered in the territories temporarily occupied by the Russian armies but, faced with the possibility of reprisals after the withdrawal of the Russians, many of them between the years 1806 and 1812 went to Russia, where they were given land and where they formed a Bulgarian emigration which, later, was to play its part in the struggle.

Only a few years later Bulgaria was fought over again by Russia but restored to Turkey by the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. In 1833, demonstrating that the greater the change the greater was the identity of policy, Russia and Turkey signed a Treaty of Alliance. In fact the dispute between them continued in many forms and in 1856 a Paris meeting of France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, compelled the Sultan to state anew his regard for his Christian subjects, to neutralise the Black Sea, and to appoint a Danube Commission. A fortnight later a treaty guaranteeing the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was signed by Austria, France, and Great Britain, but not by Russia.

The rivalry between Russia and Turkey was but one aspect of what was called in the west of Europe "the Eastern Question", a question which more and more compelled the attention of diplomats and politicians and which could not be ignored, in its turn, by the working

class movement which grew up in successive countries as the century progressed. The "Eastern Question" really meant who should inherit the obviously declining Turkish Empire with its rich territories? How could Russia be prevented from doing so? Who should control the Dardanelles and the Black Sea? It did not mean how should freedom be gained for the people suffering from Turkish oppression. The more intelligent of the Turks saw the impossibility of the situation and demanded reforms, and out of this agitation came the creation of a standing army to increase repression and the abolition of the Spahia Army and the land-owning system associated with it; it is, nevertheless, only fair to their memories to record that the great mass of the Turks, and especially the Janissaries, were opposed to these reforms and that Turkish feudal lords, assisted by Janissaries, joined forces with brigands to stage revolts against the Turkish Government, not with the object of liberating Bulgaria, but with the object of stopping reforms. Many demobilised soldiers joined them and the total result was to add to the general insecurity of Bulgaria.

The international background to the liberation of Bulgaria is of vital importance and against this background Turkey in Europe continually diminished, as a glance at the map of South-east Europe in the seventeenth century, in 1812, in 1856 and in 1878 will show. But these developments, the loss of Hungary, of Serbia and Rumania, of Bosnia and Montenegro and Bulgaria, did not take place without causes working within the Turkish Empire as well as outside it, and this included causes at work within Bulgaria. There was thus a local and national background, the importance of which may not be overlooked. This local background was a whole process of social and economic change which began in the eighteenth century and which was a process common to all the countries which were engaged in winning their independence from Turkey. It was a struggle for the national and cultural liberation of a people, waged against the background of rapidly changing economic relations, so that the history of the Bulgarian renaissance is at the same time the history of the growth of capitalist relations in Bulgaria and the story of the birth of a new nation. The struggle which resulted from these separate but interdependent factors was a struggle which, while it was one between two possessing classes—the Turks and the Bulgarians—came to engage the whole Bulgarian people, although never the whole Turkish people.

The first stage of the economic background to this series of developments was the creation of a new class of Turkish gentlemen farmers. Military tenures disappeared and land became hereditary. This was

not, it needs to be noticed, an ending of the feudal economy which held Bulgaria in its grip, but a transformation of a military feudalism into a feudalism in which money relations were growing. Crown lands were now taken over by the lords and the army of Spahias became smaller and began to lose its *esprit de corps*. In its place Turkish wars were now fought by mercenary armies. This did not, however, mean that the lot of the Bulgarian peasants improved; on the contrary, lords who had previously lived by the plunder of war now lived by the exploitation of peasantry whose lot became even worse than it had previously been.

The taxes imposed upon the peasant were in fact increased and extended to the crop which he raised. Landlord farms had begun to come into existence by the end of the sixteenth century and continued to increase and extend although Pomak and Spahia farms continued to exist. More and more the peasants lost their land to the new hereditary owners and became dependent upon their new landlords, their dependence taking three forms, that of the *Kesimjstvo*, a hereditary serf who could not leave the land, that of the *ispolicharstvo* who rented land from the lord and had to yield him half of the produce of the land, and that of the *rataistvo* or hired worker who was free in the sense of not being bound to the soil and who was paid half in kind and half in money. The coming into being of this last category demonstrated the beginnings of capitalism. Together with this went an increased differentiation between the peasants so that some became rich and found their way into the class of the *bourgeoisie*, while others became impoverished and were forced into the newly growing proletariat. It is true that Christians were now, at least, permitted to own land and that the richer peasants benefited from this, although they were still subjected to the vagaries of the Turkish courts, but this and other reforms were made necessary by an increasing and endemic revolt of the peasantry.

The village at this stage was comprised of three strata, the *chorbadji* who were government representatives (they were the landlords possessed of a good deal of money and considerable herds of sheep), the rich or *bourgeois* peasantry and the poor peasantry. Commerce was in the hands of a group of merchants called the *djelepi*, who gathered large herds of animals together and drove them to market in Constantinople. It was the village *bourgeoisie* who formed the basis out of which grew and developed the town *bourgeoisie*.

The general situation of the country was abominably bad. Judgement was largely by bribery and from the sixteenth century onwards



Christians (i.e. the great mass of Bulgarian peasants) were continually robbed by both Spahias and Janissaries. That the situation did not improve, was shown in a book published in London in 1869 by S. G. B. St. Clair and C. A. Brophy called *A Residence in Bulgaria*, one of whose authors had lived for several years in Bulgarian villages. They were writing, they said, to attempt to describe a country "which although but five or six days distance from England is almost as little known as the interior of Africa".

Even in the coldest winter [they said], no cheerful gleam of fire is seen through lighted windows (in the villages) promising shelter and hospitality; all is dark and gloomy as the night, for the Bulgarian cottages are distinguished by the entire absence of windows or of any substitute for them, the only media of light and ventilation being the large chimney and the chinks and crannies of the ill-joined doors. The reason assigned to this is the universal dread of brigands, who might come at night and fire through the windows (if they existed) of the sleeping peasants.

They went on to describe the complete absence of roads in the English sense, the interest of the Greek clergy in revenue rather than morality, the use of witchcraft, the entire area of local government as one of petty abuses and the ignorance of the country of the British consular officials and the unreliability of the reports they sent home.

A very valuable description of real conditions in Bulgaria was given by Malcolm Maccoll in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for November 1876, which is worth quoting at length.

Let us, first, take the case of the various imposts which are levied by the Porte, and let us begin with the tithes. This is an old tax, and is chargeable on all produce of the ground, such as cereal of all kinds, tobacco, vegetables, fruit, grapes and hay. The method of collecting tithes is as follows. They are sold by the Government to the highest bidder, and so keen is the competition, in ordinary times, that the successful bidder not seldom pays more than the tithes will yield. In England this of course would mean that he would be a loser to the extent of the difference between the price he gave and the tithe of the year's produce. Unfortunately for the poor Rayah, however, Turkey is not England, and the Turkish tithe-farmers manage matters in a different way. Having bought the tithes, these speculators visit the villages, which are then legally delivered over to their rapacity, in order to assess the year's tithes. They bring with them a retinue of followers and horses, and live on the villagers at free quarters during their pleasure. They take whatever they have a fancy to, and they pay for nothing, and so expensive are these visits that the poor villagers are often obliged to borrow, at a ruinous interest from

their unwelcome guests, the very means with which to provide for their luxurious requirements. Unfortunately it sometimes happens that their requirements include the wife, or daughter, or sister of the host, as the case may be, and then, like the monarch of old, he has his choice of three alternatives, but all from the hand of man; resistance, a bribe, submission. As to the first, he has no arms, and is quite helpless in the presence of the tithe-farmer and his armed retainers. Resistance is therefore out of the question, unless he flies to the mountains and joins or gets up a band of brigands or insurgents. Submission is abhorrent to him, and he gives the bribe—possibly borrowed at exorbitant interest from his predecessor. But is there no remedy? Are there no tribunals of justice to appeal to? Oh yes certainly—on paper. But of that anon.

By law the "Spahia" or tithe-farmer ought to see the threshing of the grain, and when it is measured, to fix the proper tithes. But this legal obligation they rarely fulfil. Too indolent to discharge the duty themselves, and too suspicious to trust to subordinates, they assess the tithes at an arbitrary valuation, which of course is very much in excess of the real value. Again the poor Rayah has no redress. Theoretically he may appeal to Government officials; but these officials are in league with the tithe-farmer, who is frequently nothing but the dummy behind which some influential member of the Government robs and harasses the Christian peasant. Again, it may not suit the convenience or *dolce far niente* disposition of the farmer to carry away his grain after it has been duly assessed, so he leaves it in the field or under cover of some shed, and if any damage ensues the village has to make it good; or the grain is left in expectation of a rise in price, or in the hope that the peasant, in his need, may be tempted to consume it, in which case he is liable to be charged double price. Hay, potatoes, and all sorts of garden produce are not taken in kind. The price is arbitrarily fixed, and ready money must be paid down. An appeal to the Government authorities is quite useless, for they invariably decide in favour of the tithe-farmer. . . .

I have been using the conventional description of "tithe-farmer"; but in point of fact there are no longer any tithe-farmers in Turkey. The men are there, but it is not of the tithes that they are any longer the farmers. When Sultan Abdul Aziz travelled in Europe in state, an extraordinary impost was laid upon all produce previously named, to bear the cost of his journey. This tax raised the tithe to an eighth part of the produce, and though it was imposed as an extraordinary charge for a temporary purpose, it has never been removed, and is now an ordinary tax. It is an eighth, therefore, and not a tithe, that the Rayah pays, and when all the extortions are taken into account it may be put down as a sixth or seventh.

I have mentioned, however, but a fraction of the imposts which crush the spirit and paralyse the energies of these subjects of the Porte. Turkey is a great tobacco-grower and the so-called tithes of this are also farmed out by Government. Before the farmers go their rounds, with goodly company,

to value the tobacco crop, some of their agents are sent to examine the quantity of tobacco still growing on the stalk. These go in procession from house to house and from plantation to plantation, and prolong the time as they please, in order to feed gratuitously. In the pretext of having possibly put down too little, the inquisitorial visit is repeated generally three times, and, after all, the farmers themselves go their rounds, the poor Rayah being obliged to provide for them all, however long they may choose to stay. They act, in fact, as masters on his property. They order what they like, and there is nothing for him but humbly to obey.

The oppression involved in all this may be imagined when it is remembered that everything which the peasant can call his own is subject to taxation. All spirits are taxed; herbs used for dyeing are taxed; there is a land-tax, and a house-tax, and a grass-tax; there is a tax of fifteen to twenty piastres on every head of large cattle, and a tax of two piastres on every head of small cattle. This latter tax affords peculiar opportunities and temptations for extortion. The animals are numbered in the month of March, a short time before the greatest mortality in the flocks takes place; and the peasant has to pay, not on the average number of the animals which remain to him, but on the maximum which are alive at any one time.

From two to four piastres have to be paid annually for every bee-hive. Then there is the horse service, by which the Rayah is obliged to act as the drudge of the military, and is sometimes taken several days journey from home; and all this without the slightest remuneration, and without any compensation for the horse, which may perish, as many do, in this service.

Another grinding tax from which the Christian subject of the Porte suffers grievously, is the duty of working on the public roads. No member of the family who can work—and there are sometimes as many as ten in a family who are thus liable—is exempted from this duty. The place where the work has to be done may be miles away from the Rayah's home, and it may be at a critical season of the year, when all hands are required at home. That matters not; he must obey the summons and leave his fields and flocks to take their chance. This happens about a fortnight in each year, and though it costs the peasant not less than 100 piastres a day, he does not get so much as a morsel of bread in return; he gets kicks and insults instead.

Another monstrous tax is the *Rod* or labour-tax. We have seen how thoroughly the Rayah's time is taken up in looking after his flocks and fields, and rendering compulsory service to the Government. But the Turk thinks that he has still leisure enough on his hands to earn, by daily labour, from 500 to 1500 piastres, and as the prescription of these imaginary earnings, every Christian is made to pay the fortieth piastre to the Government, that is, twenty-five piastres in the 1000. The Christian's word is not taken for the amount of his earnings, it is fixed for him, and though he may be laid on a bed of sickness, or otherwise disabled, the tax must be paid.

The last tax that I shall mention is the poll-tax. Every male Christian,

from birth to death, must pay the poll-tax for exemption from the military conscription. It amounts to thirty piastres a head, and every male Christian is bound to pay it, from the new-born babe to the decrepit beggar. It is supposed to be a fine paid for exemption from military service; on the contrary, they object to any such exemption, and the *Hatti-i-Humayan*, of 1856, promised the abolition of the exemption—a promise which, it need not be said, has never been fulfilled. But, in the second place, children, and the old and feeble, are not liable to military service under any Government, even that of Turkey. How then can they be liable to the fine which is supposed to free them? But it is absurd to appeal to the elementary rules of equity in the case of such a Government as Turkey. The result of that, children and beggars not being able to pay for themselves, their respective villages have to pay for them. In this way a Rayah of average means pays in taxation somewhat less than 3000 piastres annually. . . .

But the reader may ask, are there no courts of justice in Turkey? Yes, but as far as the Christian is concerned these courts are literally legalised instruments of oppression and torture. Theoretically the Turkish courts of justice are divided into civil and criminal; but in point of fact, the Government of Turkey is theocratic; the law of the Koran, with its multitudinous developments, dominates all the tribunals. The civil and criminal courts have each two of their members Christian—one to represent the Orthodox, the other the Catholics. But these are always a minority, and are invariably intimidated into agreement with the majority. Their only use, in fact, is to enable the Turkish Government to parade its pseudo-liberality and religious tolerance before a credulous Christendom. Theoretically the evidence of a Christian is admissible except before the *Sheri*, or religious tribunals; practically it is inadmissible in any court. If the Christian is so foolhardy as to insist on his legal right to give or produce evidence, it is easily got rid of in some such way as this. The judge browbeats him, and makes him repeat his evidence. If he alters a word in the repetition, his testimony is rejected as untrustworthy. Or if other means fail, the case is adjourned, and the Christian witness goes home. He is followed and denounced on some trumpety charge, and the next time he appears in court he is contemptuously put aside as a person of notoriously bad character. Another device is to get him imprisoned—it may be only for an hour—on some false charge. This is enough; for a Christian once imprisoned, however innocently, is rejected as a witness. On the other hand, the Mussulman prosecutor or defendant has no difficulty at all to get any amount of evidence against a Christian. The only chance the latter has is that, if he happens to be sufficiently rich, he may bribe the judge. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is not a judge in Turkey who will not sell justice for a bribe. The only conscience that he has in the matter, is that he is likely to sell his award to a follower of the Prophet for a smaller bribe than he will receive from the hated and despised *Giaur*. This universal corruption of justice in Turkey is admitted even by those who are

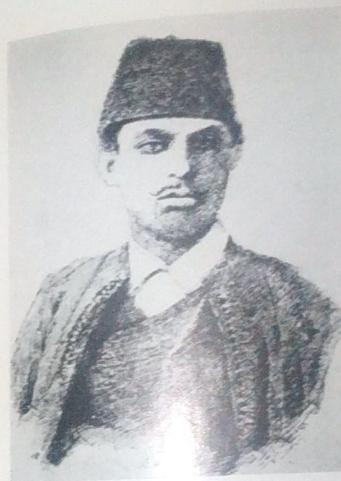


ordinarily the most strenuous to defend the Turk against his Western critics. . . .

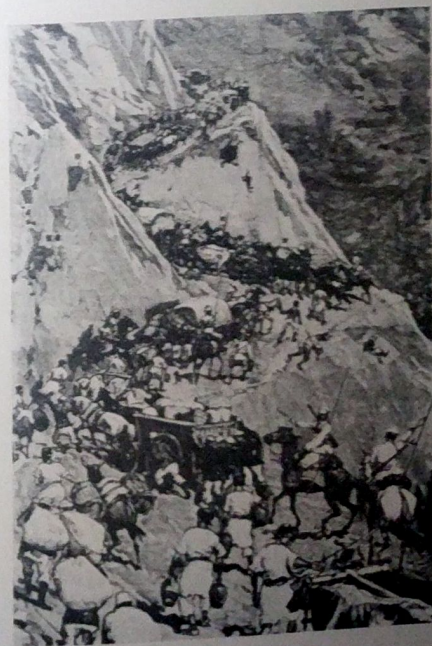
The Christian, moreover, is shut out from the possibility of buying land. A Christian now and then, more simple and confiding than his fellows, has within the last twenty years bought land in Turkey, presuming on the explicit guarantee of the *Hatti-i-Humayan*, but the result has almost invariably been that he has been robbed of his purchase. Either the man of whom he purchased it, or some neighbouring Ahab, covets and quietly takes possession of the poor man's dearly bought field or vineyard. The Christian appeals to the law, but no evidence that he can produce is admissible. He loses his land without getting back his purchase-money, and he may thank his stars if he does not get the bastinado into the bargain for bringing a false accusation against a true Believer.

I have already mentioned the most cruel torture of all to which the Rayah of Turkey is exposed—I mean the peril to which the chastity of his female relations is daily exposed. It is stated in the *Daily News* of 23 October, that Mr. Baring and Mr. Calvert, who were then in Bulgaria, had compelled the arrest of "a Turk who demanded a Christian girl from her father for his harem. When the latter refused he cut at him with a sabre, wounding his hand. . . ." The Turkish Government puts a premium on the violation of Christian female chastity.

The effect of worsening conditions in the countryside was an increase of the town populations which were already growing for other reasons, and of them poor Bulgarians became a larger and larger section. Sofia became a town of from seven to eight thousand households; Plovdiv, which had formerly been one of the most beautiful towns of the whole of what was euphemistically described as European Turkey, now began to revive; new towns with an exclusively Bulgarian population began to grow up in areas difficult of access for the Turk. The result of these developments was that there began to be a predominance of Bulgarian craftsmen over Turkish so that of sixty guilds in Sofia, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only six were Turkish, twenty-nine were mixed Turkish and Bulgarian, and twenty-five were wholly Bulgarian. Crafts now became specialised and strong localised industries arose. All craftsmen had to belong to guilds, the Turkish guilds having special privileges in acquiring raw materials and in marketing. Animal rearing became highly developed and trade grew up in animals. It is estimated that there were generally 30,000 people in Philippopolis on market day, although privileges were given at this and other markets to foreigners, rather than to local merchants. The English, the French, and the Dutch were all "interested" in the Bulgarian market and all able and willing to give assistance to the



GEORGE BENKOVSKY  
A Leader of the 1876 Rising



A SCENE IN THE  
RUSSO-TURKISH  
WAR



market although their real interest did not lie in Bulgaria but in the Levant and the Black Sea.

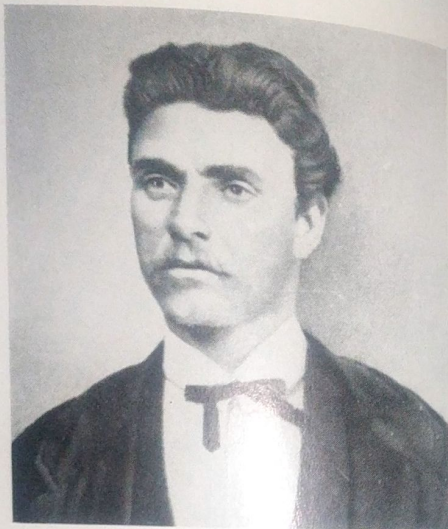
With the development of handicrafts, trade began to develop too. There was a trade in wool and candles, with the merchants of Dubrovnik. The chief Bulgarian port was Varna and through it wool was exported and linen, velvet, sugar, wine, nails, knives, needles and other commodities were imported. The merchants were mainly Catholics of whom there were settlements in most of the principal towns, their chief competitors being the Greeks who supplied Dubrovnik. Goods were now produced for a market but there was still a big discrepancy between trade inside the country and its external trade. Nevertheless many trade agreements were made and during the American War of Independence all British cotton was bought from Turkey which, of course, included Bulgaria. During the French Revolution, too, French missions purchased wheat in Varna and Burgas.

Foremost among the trading centres which now grew up was Vidin, in which town Bulgarians began to exceed Turks. The basis of trade in this and other towns was a guild, which resembled similar organisations of Western Europe and in which there was no chance of a journeyman becoming a master without paying a considerable fee. The guild itself was a planning body and a purchasing agent for raw materials. It also acted as a selling organisation. In Philippopolis in 1817 there were a hundred craftsmen in the textile guild and there was a regularly held special aggregate meeting of the guilds and in many places the guilds combined to form one large guild which then became a body of some power. For all that, throughout the nineteenth century the guilds were in decline owing to the fact that after the Crimean War western goods flooded the Turkish markets. The middleman appeared, and the familiar organisations of capitalist buying and selling began to be established, although in the early part of the nineteenth century the head of a factory was often himself the middleman.

New factories sprang up on the background of a surplus of labour, with the result that the workers were savagely exploited and normally made to work twelve hours a day for very small pay. The blacksmiths worked fourteen-and-a-half hours and apprentices were generally compelled to work for nothing at all. Throughout the century, however, the size of the Bulgarian working class increased, although it was not large enough yet to become an important factor in Bulgarian affairs, the real Industrial Revolution still lay in the future. Small as it was, however, the technical change was very real, and the invention

VASIL LEVSKY

(1837-73)

Leader of the  
Liberation Movement

CHRISTO BOTEV

(1849-76)

Poet and Revolutionary

of a new loom in Sliven in 1834 demonstrated that even an enslaved Bulgaria could make its contribution to technology, although the very fact of the contribution was a portent that the country was on the march and that the days of slavery were numbered.

Textiles, mainly woollen, soon became the predominant industry. Constantinople was their chief market. Carlovo and Philippopolis were the chief centres. Behind these factories, although some were individually owned, stood a series of new joint stock companies and attempts were made to float such companies in many spheres although the companies were never strong enough to change the face of Turkish economy. Outstanding among the failures was an attempt made to organise steamship travel on the River Maritsa. Despite the failures, however, there was not a little success and by the middle of the nineteenth century there were thirty-nine joint stock companies in various states of development. Not all of these survived but even so their rise and fall demonstrated the working of powerful new economic forces whose growth and development was impeded by the backward Turkish régime.

At the end of the period we have already discussed in the previous chapter, Bulgaria did not have a unified internal market and there were in fact three quite distinct commercial areas, one which ran north along the Danube and included Rousse and Svishtov as well as Varna and the Black Sea, a second in Thrace including Philippopolis, Adrianople and Burgas, and a third in Macedonia. In the nineteenth century this picture changed and, as monetary relations increased together with the movement of goods, so the market became more uniform. In the first half of the nineteenth century some places became all-Bulgarian markets and others became all-Turkish markets. Specialised markets were also formed and a new class of travelling merchants came into existence who still, however, preferred to be paid in kind. They travelled together in small groups, partly because the roads were so bad and partly also because elementary safety was lacking. Already by the end of the eighteenth century there had been a considerable increase of trade with Bucharest, Odessa and Moscow, all cities which had Bulgarian *émigré* populations, as had the Crimea and Bessarabia. So attar of roses and silks were taken by merchants to Moscow via Bucharest, and Bulgarian commercial colonies sprang up in Asia Minor and even as far afield as Calcutta. Needless to say there was a larger colony in Constantinople where there were twenty-four Bulgarian guilds. As the nineteenth century wore on, the silk merchants traded increasingly with Italy and France and there were trade relations

between Philippopolis and England. In 1865 there was a Bulgarian representative in Manchester.

Foreign imports, however, lagged behind the general developments and were not stimulated by the bad transport. In the 1860s roads improved and, as foreign goods were brought along them, the fairs declined. In 1865 a new railway produced a similar decline in other markets. Capital was now used not simply for commerce but also in a growing financial market and therefore, to a degree, became less available for commerce.

#### *The Movement for Liberation*

Despite the importance of Paissy's book mentioned in the last chapter, despite the renaissance it stimulated, the support the movement received was not large and it was limited to a small group of intellectuals. The general conditions were not such as to facilitate the growth of a mass movement, which only came in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, although to say this in no way diminishes the importance of Paissy or the Bulgarian renaissance. It was only at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the birth of capitalism in Bulgaria began to bring into existence a substantial *bourgeois* class. This growth brought added strength to the movement which Paissy had begun and helped develop an even bigger struggle for the national and cultural liberation of the Bulgarian people and it was out of this struggle that a new nation was born.

If the liberation movement was first headed by intellectuals and representatives of the new merchant class, it came to have the strong support of the peasants who had a deep-seated interest in the question of land reform.

The partisan activities of Bulgarian patriots were growing at the end of the eighteenth century. One band, under Indye, was 500 strong and worked with Turks in order to secure a larger uprising. The whole situation was a very complex one and was not simplified by the revolts of feudal lords against the Turkish Government which were for their own aggrandisement and had nothing to do with the liberation movement. The father of the Pasha Osman Pasvanoglu was himself executed for fomenting insurrection against Turkish authority on Turkish soil. In return for this Osman himself formed a band interested in looting against the Sultan. In 1795 he proclaimed himself ruler of Vidin and maintained himself there despite the fact that an army was sent against him, and was saved by the French attack on Egypt. At the end of the century he had lost his power and in 1805 was defeated by



the Pasha of Kladovo. Only, however, with his death in 1807 did the Vidin struggle come to an end. In the meantime the links were strengthening between the Bulgarian movement and the Bulgarian emigrés in Rumania and Russia.

The nineteenth century began with the Greek struggle for independence which culminated in the war of 1827, and in this struggle many Bulgarians participated, while at home the same struggle was reflected in a campaign for lay schools which would be free from Greek influence. Peter Beron was foremost in this movement and he it was who published the first Bulgarian textbook, an ABC with grammar, short stories, natural history and arithmetic, in Brasov in 1824. The war of Greek independence was followed by the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-9, which gave hopes which were disappointed to the Bulgarian movement, and the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 restored Bulgaria to Turkey.

It was as a result of this failure that Mamachev prepared a new uprising in Sliven, which was opposed by the Russian High Command with the result that there was considerable doubt as to whether it should take place or not, and in 1830 almost a hundred thousand Bulgarians left for Rumania and Russia and there was a great depopulation of Sliven and South-east Bulgaria. Mamachev was the Mayor of Silistra and, using his official position, he continued in association with merchants of Tirmovo, where Velcho Atanassof Jamjiata acted as the military leader, to prepare an uprising for 1836 for which he expected the support of the building workers. Before the insurrection could be properly launched, however, its leaders were seized and executed and Mamachev, who was a Russian citizen, was imprisoned on the island of Samos. Again the Haiduk movement was the only form of open opposition left and it recruited from the villages, from the town intelligentsia, from the clergy and from the craftsmen.

Mention has already been made of the movement in education and this became an even more important field for the resistance movement. One of the important leaders in this sphere was Yuri Venelin, a Ukrainian (1802-39), who had been educated at the universities of Lvov and Moscow and who at the age of twenty-three became acquainted with the Bulgarian emigrants in Kishinev. He decided to study their history and in 1829 produced an important book called *The Former and the Present Bulgaria and their Relations with the Russians*, in which he asserted the Slav origin of the Bulgarians as opposed to the Turkish theory which was commonly held. His work had a strong

influence on many people and especially on Vassili Aprilov, the son of a merchant, who formed a circle in Bucharest to assist in the education of the Bulgarian people, which in turn led to a movement for wholly Bulgarian schools, as the result of which the first of such schools was opened in Gabrovo in 1835. The first Bulgarian newspaper followed in 1846 and in the sixties a Bulgarian literature could be said to have been created.

Side by side with this, and a key facet of the struggle for Bulgarian liberation, went the movement to gain independence for the Bulgarian Church from the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, a movement which was strengthened by the resentment caused by the Sultan's abolition of the Patriarchate of Ochrida which covered the dioceses of Macedonia and Western Bulgaria, in 1766 and 1767. The Serb Patriarchate had been abolished at the same time and the result was the hellenisation, or attempted hellenisation of the entire Bulgarian Church. This struggle soon reached considerable dimensions and in 1829 the town of Skopje obtained from the Porte a firman for the construction of a Bulgarian church and demanded that the Patriarch of Constantinople should appoint a Bulgarian bishop. Tirmovo made a similar demand in 1840. The actual programme of an independent church was first put forward by Bishop Nathaniel whose autobiography describes his work of propaganda for the Bulgarian cause in Kiev, Moscow, Petrograd, Warsaw, and Prague. In 1852, under the pseudonym of N. Bogdon, he published in Prague *A Friendly Letter from a Bulgarian to a Greek*, which stiffened the struggle against hellenisation.\* In 1849 a Council had been set up to safeguard the fabric of the Bulgarian chapel in Constantinople which became a focal point of the movement. In 1859 the demand was raised for the restoration of the Patriarchate of Ochrida. The movement grew rapidly after this with the development of the whole political situation and its aims grew bolder. The Uniat movement had made some slight advances at this time even in Bulgaria because its aims of an Orthodox Liturgy combined with acceptance of the Papal obedience seemed to hold promise of Vatican support for the national independence movements of the Eastern European countries. It was flooded out of existence in Bulgaria, however, by the movement for an independent Bulgarian Church, particularly when it became clear that the movement had the diplomatic support of Russia. So in 1867 the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople was compelled to admit the principle of an independent Bulgarian Church, but it limited it to Eastern Bulgaria and the offer

\* See *La Question Bulgare et les Etats Balkaniques*, Sofia, 1919.



was rejected. Eventually the Turkish Government was compelled to submit to pressure, both internal and external, and it intervened in the matter. In 1868 the Grand Vizier submitted to the Patriarch of Constantinople a scheme for an independent Bulgarian Church. The result was a commission representing both the Patriarchate and the Bulgarians twenty-five out of the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, taking together with part of eight disputed dioceses. The Patriarchate rejected the proposals, whereupon the civil government intervened and a firman of 11 March 1870, created the Exarchate which included all of Eastern Bulgaria, the Dobrudja, Pirot and Nish in the west and one Macedonian diocese (Veles).

Those who waged the struggle for an independent Bulgarian Church counted on the support of the other Orthodox Churches, especially of the Russian. The Moscow Metropolitan Philaret in particular was mindful of the needs of the Bulgarian Church and the necessity of it gaining an autonomy based on the Bulgarian language, although the Russian Church was outspoken against what it regarded as the premature activity of sections of the National Church and an inadequately considered breach with the Patriarchate of Constantinople as well as the expulsion from Bulgaria of Metropolitans and bishops of Greek nationality. In 1869, however, the Holy Synod of the Russian Church publicly opposed the intention of Constantinople to call a *sobor* (or council) on the Bulgarian question at Silensk, holding that this was an internal affair for the Bulgarian Church. Needless to say the Russians did not consider the Bulgarians as schismatics because of their breach with Constantinople and, jointly with the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, refused to follow Constantinople in declaring the result of the Bulgarian decision to be a schism.

In 1871 a Bulgarian National Council was instituted in Constantinople to establish the statutes of this Church. Observers represented the churches of Macedonia although only Veles legally represented the Macedonian dioceses. The first Bulgarian Exarch tried hard to secure the incorporation of the Macedonian dioceses into the Exarchate and a compromise offered by Constantinople was that the diocese of Skopje, Veles, Bitolia, and Ochrida should join the Exarchate. It was when this was rejected that the Phanar declared the Bulgarian Church to be schismatic. In 1872 the Porte ordered a plebiscite in the areas of Skopje and Ochrida. The result was overwhelming and the two dioceses were given Bulgarian bishops. The Exarch was appointed by the Synod subject to the approval of Constantinople. From this time on no further

concessions were made to the Turks as they were overcome by the force of revolution. It was now the political movement that came to the foreground of the stage.

The working classes were stirring at this time but behind them stood a mass peasant movement which had been growing throughout the century, as well as the *bourgeois* movement for national liberation. In the 1830s Serbian territory had become independent and this fermented unrest along the border and constantly revolts and insurrections broke out. In 1835 sixteen villages in Nish county rose in arms and in 1836 peasants from Pirot, Berkovitsa, and Belogradchik counties revolted. Their rising too, was crushed. A second Nish uprising took place in 1841.

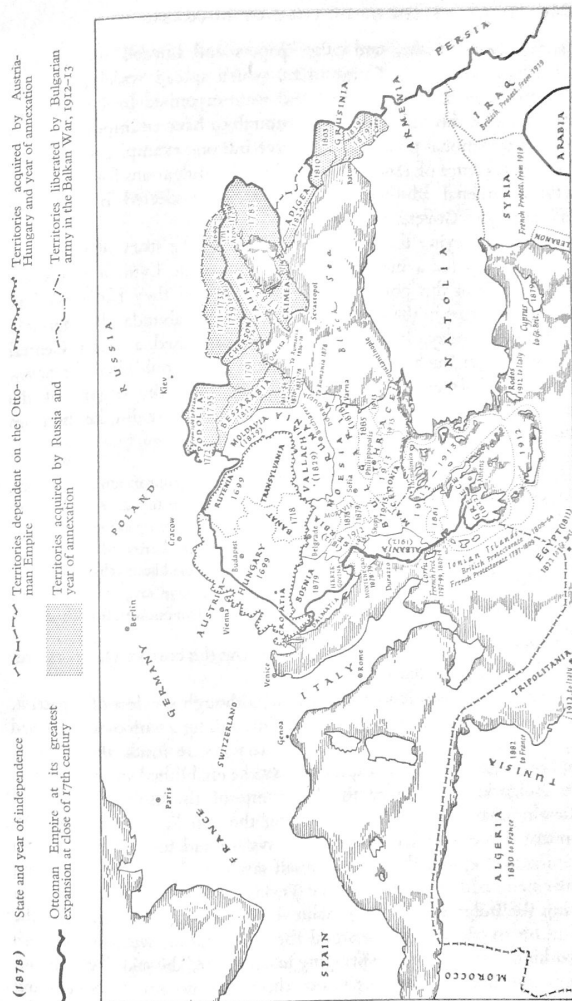
In 1847 the Boinitsa peasants and those of other villages in Kula county, who had revolted in 1841, revolted again and other villages did the same. The ownership of land was the key question at stake, both for the rich peasants, who played a big part in the movement, and for the poor peasants. There were further major outbreaks in 1850 and Belogradchik was besieged for ten days but could not be gained because there was no artillery with which to assault it. The Turks almost gave in from hunger and thirst but eventually reinforcements relieved them. Seven hundred and fifty villagers were killed, while others fled and took to the forests. The demands of the peasants at this time were for the destruction of the *Spahia* system and the ending of Mussulman looting. Eventually a peasant delegation went to Constantinople to air its grievances and to petition for their relief. When they returned and told the Pasha that the Sultan had granted them certain concessions including the buying of land the reply was that they had obviously failed to understand the Sultan. By now, however, the peasants were determined and nothing could stop them. At the end of 1851 the Turks felt again the fluttering of insurrection, so they were driven to institute reforms, particularly in Western Bulgaria. In Timovo where the vineyard tax had been doubled the peasants refused to gather grapes and their taxes were decreased, although as soon as the grapes were harvested an attempt was made to gather the previous tax.

After the Crimean War, new promises were given to the whole population, and in 1856 in a grand Manifesto the Sultan promised independence, religious freedom and equality of taxes. Nevertheless, all these desirable goals remained in the realm of promise and this failure to keep any kind of faith stimulated the movement for independent action amongst the Bulgarian middle classes. They it was who led

the movement for an independent Bulgarian Church, which involved the Turkish recognition of the Bulgarians as a people.

Nevertheless, more and more of the middle-class, and particularly the intellectuals, saw that an independent Church, or a movement for it, was not enough. "To win freedom," said Karavelov, "no Exarch is needed but a Karadjia" (i.e. a Haiduk leader). In Bucharest, the so-called "Virtuous Group" put its hope in Russia. It was headed by the merchant Georgiev, the Metropolitan Panaret and Professor Petar Protich. It assisted in the training of Haiduk detachments but it was opposed to the formation of a revolutionary movement in Bulgaria itself and patiently awaited help from outside. Nevertheless, in 1866 a secret revolutionary Central Committee was formed in Bucharest under Ivan Kasabov, but Rakovsky and his colleagues were opposed to it.

One of the most striking phenomena of the sixties and seventies was the mass impoverishment of the craftsmen and out of this came a new wave of revolt and an organised movement against Turkish rule. At the head of this now was Rakovsky, a relative of Mamachev, who had been born of rich parents in Kotel in 1821 and trained first in the local Greek-Bulgar School and later in Constantinople. He had then taught Greek in Braila and in 1842 had taken part in groups which had set out to cross the Danube but had been arrested by the Rumanians and then sent to France through the intervention of powerful acquaintances. It was then that he had changed his name and became G. Rakovsky. After this he returned to Kotel and joined in the struggle between the master-craftsmen and the *Chorbadji*. Later he opposed the monopoly of Church funds being held by the *Chorbadji*. In the second half of the sixties he was in Belgrade and Novi Sad engaged in writing and his productions included the *Forerunner* or *Forest Traveller* and (edited) the *Danube Swan*, a paper which gave guidance amongst other things in guerilla tactics. Rakovsky laid down the principle that the Haiduks were to be used only as initial military forces aiming at drawing the mass of the people into a military struggle. Together with Karavelov he was opposed to asking for reform and stood for armed revolt. He was pro-Russian and gave assistance also to the Kingdom of Serbia in its struggle against Turkey, forming a Bulgarian Legion of 1200 men to do so. Many of the leaders and others, including Vasil Levsky, subsequently joined him in Belgrade. Unfortunately in 1862 the Turks bombarded Belgrade, the great powers intervened and the idea of immediate insurrection had to be abandoned and the Legion disbanded. Rakovsky himself then went on with the work of keeping the movement organised through magazines and edited in turn *The*



5. DISINTEGRATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

*Future, The Defender*, and other papers and himself wrote many important documents. Committees, which spread widely, included key people in Bulgarian society and were organised by Levsky. The movement at this time was strong enough to have an important effect upon international politics and, to give but one example, we find the Paris Conference of 1869 being asked by the Bulgarians for autonomy with a national administration, an assembly elected by universal suffrage and a Governor chosen by the assembly.

Before surveying the last decisive scenes of the story of liberation, we may stop for a moment to note that while Lyuben Karavelov turned aside at this point, as did others, he and they had played an outstanding part in the story for which they are abundantly honoured in Bulgaria today. It was he who had organised a secret Central Committee in Bucharest in 1860. It was he who published the newspapers *Svoboda* and *Nezavisimost*, which were the organs of the Bulgarian revolutionaries abroad. All that Karavelov did, he did from a deep love of his country and his people.

I love you, my dear Homeland! [he wrote]. I love your mountains, woods, rocks and ravines and their clear cold springs! I love my dear land! I love you with all my heart and soul, though you are downtrodden, steeped in cruel suffering and pain! All that has remained in my bereaved soul, all that is good and sacred belongs to you! You are this blessed land which blossoms full of tender love, radiance and greatness. You have taught me to weep over every human suffering . . . and that is more than enough for a man . . .

Feelings of this kind did not always show the correct way forward, but they made the hard struggle possible.

Vasil Levsky was less of a romantic, although not less of a patriot, and he it was who saw the necessity of organising a nation-wide armed uprising, led by one single revolutionary centre inside the country, and between 1869 and his capture in 1872 he established 500 committees on Bulgarian soil under the leadership of the Bulgarian Central Revolutionary Committee, all having the aim ". . . to change the present despotic and tyrannical state system and to replace it with a democratic republic". Levsky himself saw the necessity of combining their national liberation from the Turkish yoke with social liberation from the Bulgarian *Chorbadi*, who all too often collaborated with the Turkish overlords, and he stood for collaboration with the Turkish working people. "We are bringing in a new era," he said. "We do not persecute the Turkish people, nor their religion, but the Sultan and his laws, in a word, the Turkish Government which barbarously rules

not only us, but the Turks also." "The era was coming," he said, "of the freedom and equality of all nationalities." A man of boundless courage and ingenuity, even in his lifetime he became a legend. Christo Smirmensky, the great Bulgarian writer of the next epoch, described him like this:

Through the downtrodden Balkan villages, down the North Bulgarian plains in Thrace, as far even as the Skopje district he travelled, calling the people to revolt. An apostle, a true apostle of freedom.

A very pale face, lit by the rays of a heart ablaze. Blue burning eyes, thoughtful and intense. And together with the ringing songs of vivacious youth, like the volcano's roar—the powerful stirring sermons of the leader, rousing the sleeping soldier for tomorrow's battle. In smoke-filled cafés of small trading towns, in cottages hid in the mountain, at evening gatherings and in reading-rooms his words thunder everywhere. Everywhere he meets open arms, everywhere—traitorous eyes and Turkish punitive bands. Before the amazed eyes of his friends he advances unwaveringly to the gaping jaws of death. Every instant, danger—every step, a risk. The Apostle has great courage.

In Tzarigrad he is a cotton merchant, in Lovech a monk and beggar. In Sopot the police seize his coat and some papers, turn over every stone to find him, but meanwhile three persons hasten through the steep Shipka defile, an old man and two nuns. Under the meek nun's robe burns Levsky's rebel heart. The other nun is his Aunt Christine.

In Nikopol, Levsky, with bandaged head, is a hunchbacked servant. From Karlovo to Plovdiv he calmly rides with Hadji Ismail's band, which has just ransacked Karlovo for his elusive shadow. Together with courage, noble scorn and calm flower in his heart.

The courage, the scorn and the calm lasted till his death by hanging in Sofia on 19 February 1893, after he had been caught by the Turks.

In 1872 a congress was held in Bucharest to settle differences within the movement and at this gathering Levsky was put on the Central Committee. By this time the committee was very carefully organised and was beginning to assume the functions of a State having its own Police Force and in cases where it was held to be necessary, imposing death sentences. Its main work inside the country was organised in two districts but its overwhelming and constant problem was the securing of arms. It was also, of course, constantly threatened by spies and dissidents and among those betrayed, arrested and imprisoned was Vasil Levsky himself (27 December 1872). When he was subsequently executed a thrill of horror ran through the country and the general determination to have done with Turkish rule was increased. The



tenseness of struggle at this time led to many defections and one of these was Karavelov who abandoned his paper and his position and took refuge in a form of liberalism. Not that the movement was left without papers, because at this point Botev started *The Flag* and at a meeting held on 26 December 1874, the active trend which he represented gained power in the committee and within a few weeks, at the beginning of 1875, it had decided to start a revolution and proceeded to ask the Haiduk leaders to begin procuring both arms and money. Unfortunately, for all the promise this held, the organisation within Bulgaria itself was weak and scattered, having been disorganised after the arrest of Levsky.

One of the outstanding leaders who did not survive till the day of liberation was George Rakovsky, who has already been referred to. At the age of twenty he was commanding a Greek-Bulgarian detachment in Braila preparing to invade Turkish territory. He was arrested and sentenced but escaped and made his way to Marseilles from whence he returned home. He was soon arrested and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. During the Crimean War he obtained a post as interpreter to the Turkish High Command which he used to spread anti-Turkish proclamations through the country. Again he was arrested and again escaped and went into hiding and wrote poetry. Later he made his way to Rumania and edited a revolutionary paper. In 1860 he organised the Bulgarian Legion in Belgrade and in his paper, the *Danube Swan*, attacked both the Phanariots (the Greek clergy in the Balkans) and the *Chorbadji*. "When we talk of the people," he wrote, "we mean all good Bulgarians, excepting the *Chorbadji*." And again: "In our country there are people who think that freedom can be won without blood, without costly sacrifices! Let nobody think that he will be liberated by someone else. Our freedom depends on ourselves." In 1867 he asserted his faith in the liberation and his democratic outlook by issuing his *Temporary Law for the People's Detachments Operating in the Mountains*.

The most outstanding of all the revolutionary leaders, however, was Christo Botev, who fell to a Turkish bullet on the Vola Hill, north of Vratsa on 2 June 1876. He was, wrote Georgi Dimitrov,

a consistent republican democrat, a convinced irreconcilable foe of political and spiritual obscurantism, of pernicious chauvinism, a passionate champion of eternal friendship with the great Russian people, for a union of the South Slavs and fraternal co-operation between the Balkan and other freedom-loving peoples, a superb poet of the struggle for the people's freedom and national independence.

Botev was, in fact, a Utopian socialist and an internationalist who believed firmly that the future of the Balkans lay in federation. "Thus an obligation of all upright men who love their people," he wrote, "is to prepare the necessary revolution and to lay the foundations of the future welfare of the Balkan Peninsula." But this he did not see in a fusion of nationalities. "On the contrary," he wrote, "there is no Southern or Northern Slav, there is no upright man who does not sympathise with the idea of a South Slav federation excluding the principle of slavery and of the fusion of various nationalities, and guaranteeing the free development of the people forming it." Ardent patriot as he was, his patriotism was grounded in a fervent love for humanity. He put it once to a friend, "Drassov, I am ready to use all manner of terrible means except meanness and lies, because above all we must be human beings, and afterwards Bulgarians and patriots." But there was no doubt as to what he stood for.

I believe in the united common power of the human race on earth to do good, and in the united communist order of society, strengthening the hearts and souls of all people for the success and triumph of communism through revolution. I believe in the united and indivisible fatherland of all people and in the common possession of all property. I profess united bright communism, correction of the infirmities of society. I await the rousing of the peoples and the future communist order of the whole world.

Botev learnt much from Marx and the barest perusal of his life and work demonstrates the fatuity of the idea that socialism and communism are simply Russian exports to Bulgaria. As far back as 1875 he had written

Everyone knows well that need and suffering bring people together and unite them, make them more sincere and respect one another in order to rid themselves of the common evil. All the poor, workers of whatever nationality and wherever they live, are brothers among themselves, brothers by sufferings and by their step-mother fate. Trod down and robbed by their governments and by the rich, even though the workers toil till they faint, they still have nothing to eat and live worse even than the cattle. But these their sufferings, these injustices at the hands of the "anointed" and the capitalists, have made the workers reach agreement among themselves, made them unite and see whence comes the evil and how they can be rid of it. The present social order which permits the existence of Sultans and capitalists, is the source of the sufferings of the Turks and Bulgarians, and that is why everyone who is deprived of justice by this social order, everyone who is condemned to live in need and hunger, who hates his cattle status and wishes to rid himself of it, is our friend, our brother.

## Revolt

Another outstanding personality was the writer Ivan Vasov who was born in Sopot in 1850 and who became a student and follower of the Bulgarian renaissance. As a student in Rumania he learned of the Bulgarian revolutionary *émigrés* and soon became one of them. He returned to Bulgaria for the April uprising in 1876 and was a member of the revolutionary committee in Sopot. After that he had to flee to Bucharest and there he joined the Central Benevolent Committee and became its secretary. After the liberation he became President of the Berkovitsa District Court and after the Berlin Congress he went to Plovdiv, then the capital of Eastern Roumelia, and worked for the reunion of the country. He was the outstanding Bulgarian writer of his day and in novels, plays and poetry he supported the cause of freedom for his people.

Those who like an exciting adventure story could do far worse than look out of their public libraries a book published by Heinemann in 1893 written by Ivan Vasov and called *Under the Yoke*. The book has the sub-title *The Renaissance of Bulgarian Liberty*. It is a novel translated from the Bulgarian, the contents of which are described in a preface by Edmund Gosse in these words:

The story is one of false dawns before the sunrise. The action proceeds, as may gradually be discovered, in the years 1875 and 1876, and the scene is laid in that corner of Bulgaria which was not until 1886 completely freed from Turkish rule—the north-west part of Thrace—overshadowed by the Balkans on the north, and then forming part of the anomalous suzerainty of Eastern Roumelia. . . . The whole story is the chronicle of one of those abortive attempts which were made throughout Bulgaria and Roumelia forty years ago, under the hope of help from Russia, to throw off the intolerable Turkish yoke of tyranny. The tale ends tragically, with the failure of the particular and partial insurrection described and the martyrdom of the leading patriots who took part in it; but the reader is preserved from finding this failure depressing by the consciousness that relief was at hand, and that an end was soon afterwards to be put to all the horrors of bondage, to the incessant *zaptie* at the door, to the hateful Turkish rapine, to the misery of Christian servitude under a horde of Oriental officials.

The author of the book, as we have seen a distinguished Bulgarian writer who was himself a member of the revolutionary movement, and who had to flee for his life, returned to his home town of Sopot in 1878 to find that it had been destroyed and that his father had been murdered by the Bashibazouks. The impression which these horrors made upon him is vividly shown in the book which reveals Turkish

barbarity as clearly as it does the courage and bravery of the Bulgarian revolutionaries.

The Bulgarian uprising which began on 2 May (20 April in the old calendar) 1876, was as Gosse says, abortive. But it was not a "false dawn", it was the real harbinger of a better day. Five centuries of Turkish oppression had failed to break Bulgarian national consciousness and the organised struggle of a people determined to break the Turkish despotism. For this purpose, as we have seen, an organisation had been built by the Bulgarian revolutionary democrats, Rakovsky, Karavelov, Levsky, Botev, and Benkovsky, and it was this organisation which led the uprising now that the time seemed ripe, because revolutions were taking place in other parts of the Turkish Empire and Russia seemed ready to intervene.

This April uprising was an armed insurrection of the people, aided by the progressive intellectuals. Only the richer Bulgarians, who gained their wealth by collaborating with the Turks, were against it, and they did their best to betray it, both while it was in the course of preparation and while it was in progress. The people, on the other hand, as was shown at Perushtitsa, at Panagyurishte, at Elejik, at Batak, and at Bratisgovo, were prepared to make any sacrifices for the cause in which they believed.

The ideas of the rising were those of the Bulgarian Central Revolutionary Committee, that is to say, the overthrow of Turkish feudalism and the liberation of the country and by this was meant liberation from social oppression as well as national freedom as such. Nor, as we have seen again, were the leaders simply nationalists. They had a deep sympathy with other oppressed peoples and wanted all who were oppressed by the Turk to gain the freedom they themselves claimed; and it is no accident that the idea of a Balkan Federation arose at this period.

The Turks loosed against the revolt their most savage forces, the Bashibazouks, as they were called, the Pomaks (one section of the Bulgarian Moslems) and some of the Caucasian colonists. At most of the places named above there were massacres, and according to the official British report 5000 people were put to the sword by the Pomaks under Achmet Aga at Batak, for which act of genocide Achmet was duly decorated by the Sultan. In the district of Philipopolis (now Plovdiv), 15,000 people were massacred and fifty-eight villages and five monasteries were destroyed. In all, considerably more than 30,000 people, old men, women and children all indiscriminately included, were killed.

It was the rising in Herzegovina, Bosnia and Montenegro in July 1875 that had decided the issue. Botev insisted on revolt and the committee called an immediate meeting in Bucharest which, on 12 August, decided to launch the insurrection. It set up a committee of five to make the final arrangements and it sent its emissaries to Bulgaria to direct operations on the spot. Stambulov was sent to Stara Zagora where, unfortunately, a message from headquarters in Timovo asking for delay later than the planned day of 28 September failed to arrive. Stambulov then launched the revolution with a handful of supporters and had immediately to flee. There were, naturally, severe recriminations in Bucharest and Botev resigned from the committee. A new committee arose immediately, however in Gyurgevo, headed by Stambolov, which again began immediate and detailed plans for a rising and gained the more support in Bulgaria from the harshness of the Turkish suppression of the 1875 attempt. Finally, 13 May 1876 was fixed as the day for the rising and a meeting of local leaders was held in a field near Panagyurishte on 26 April which confirmed the date but gave authority to anticipate it in the event of arrests beginning, as the only way to deal with treachery. It was a wise provision because the treachery was immediate and the arrests in Panagyurishte itself were immediate. The revolutionists set out to secure the release of their comrades and instantly the town was in a state of revolt. Tragically, the military inexperience of the insurgents told at once, the Turks recruited Bashibazouks, Moslem irregulars, and some 5000 regulars joined them in marching to the town and to the insurgent villages around it. They went also to towns where there had been no revolt at all and wherever they went they fired and massacred. On 9 May they reached the town of Batak where there had been no revolt and slaughtered something between\* two and five thousand people. Those who took refuge in the church were burned together. It was estimated that 3000 bodies lay amid the smouldering ruins at the end of the day. At least fifty other places were treated in the same way. The Turks themselves officially admitted to 1836 deaths, although later they amended this to 3500 and then to 6000; † Bulgarian figures have ranged from 30,000 to 100,000.

The massacre of Batak burned into the minds of people all over the world, and the church of that village, filled with the bones of the slaughtered, became a shrine. Lady Strangford and other English people went there to help administer relief and eventually a new church at Batak was erected to her memory. But to many politicians, in

\* The accounts vary greatly.

† The British Ambassador, Layard, stuck at 3694.

England and elsewhere, the massacres were simply a challenge to find new ways of evading the overwhelming popular will for the liberation of all the subject people from the Turkish yoke. The result was the holding of a conference of the Powers in Constantinople, the recommendation of which, rejected by Turkey in January 1877, included the appointment of an international commission to carry out reforms in Turkey. Russia was a party to these decisions and continued to press and the result was the London Protocol of March 1877, which assisted the determination of the Powers to see that such reforms as Turkey had promised were carried out. The Turks, however, did not expect the Powers to stand by their word and relied particularly, it seems, on Disraeli. So in April they repudiated the London Protocol, and on the 24th of that month they reaped the whirlwind because Russia declared war. The Russian writer Turgenev was one of the strongest supporters of the Bulgarian people and a Slav committee was formed in Moscow which recruited volunteers for the war. It had the support of the scientist D. Mendeleyev, Dostoevsky and the brothers Aksakov.

The war that followed lasted less than a year and was slow in its beginnings. In June, General Gurko marched into Bulgaria, entering Svishtov on the 27th. He was aided by a Bulgarian legion of six regiments and everywhere his troops were welcomed as deliverers. He was opposed, however, by a quarter of a million Turkish troops and had to proceed cautiously. He first took Timovo and crossed the Hainkoi Pass over the Balkans and came to the south of the Shipka Pass, while Nikopol was taken by General Kridener's troops who later went on to Plevna. His advance on Adrianople, however, was checked and Russians and Bulgarians were badly mauled at Stara Zagora and driven back to the Shipka Pass which they held throughout the winter. In the meantime, in July, Osman Pasha had entrenched himself with 50,000 men around Plevna and here he held out for five months taking very heavy toll of the Russians in their attempt to take the town, which they eventually succeeded in doing with Rumanian assistance and with about 30,000 casualties. Osman Pasha surrendered to General Todleben on 10 December and the Russian forces then split, General Gurky advancing to Sofia and Skobelev and his men crossing the Balkans by a goat-track to take the Turks in the rear at Shipka, which was forced on 9 January 1878. This was the key battle of the campaign and it was waged jointly by Russian troops and Bulgarian volunteers, and it is because Shipka became the symbol of the liberation that a monument was later erected there as well as a monastery.

After Shipka the advance was dramatic and easy. Adrianople was





Daily News correspondent, to Batak, fully confirmed the first report\* and by the end of August, Disraeli was admitting "Bulgarian atrocities" but they were "a Russian trap to call for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe". He was strengthened in this attitude by the British Ambassador in Constantinople, Sir Henry Elliot, who blandly denied the facts, so that later Disraeli complained (in private) of his "stupidity". The records show that he went so far as to request the Foreign Secretary, † Lord Derby, to remove Elliot from Constantinople. This the latter refused to do, but felt impelled to cable Constantinople on 20 August: "The impression produced here by events in Bulgaria has completely destroyed sympathy with the Turks. The feeling is universal, and so strong, that even if Russia were to declare war against the Porte, Her Majesty's Government would find it practically impossible to interfere." In a dispatch which followed on 5 September, he lamented that it would be "most unsatisfactory and even humiliating" for England to refuse to honour her obligations to defend Turkey but that English public opinion might compel this to happen. The importance of this, as Temperley has pointed out, is that this Government change of policy was recorded on 5 September, the day before the appearance of Gladstone's pamphlet on the "Bulgarian Horrors" and it was, therefore, a response to the general movement of the British people and not to Gladstone's campaign. What Temperley does not point out is that a large part of this sprang from the working class movement of the country. To say this, however, is not to minimise the importance of Gladstone's later part in the campaign.

To himself Gladstone seems to have been quite frank and he wrote to a colleague: "Good ends can rarely be achieved in politics without passion; and there is now, the first time for a good many years, a virtuous passion."

\* The Report of the Special Commission of the Daily News was published under the title *Outrages in Bulgaria; The Latest Authentic Details* (Liverpool 1876). It referred to the "horrible scenes at Batak" (2 August) and said:

"There is, it would seem, a point in atrocity beyond which discrimination is impossible, when mere comparison, calculation, measurement are out of the question, and this point the Turks have already passed. You can follow them no further. The way is blocked up by mountains of hideous facts that repel scrutiny and investigation, over and beyond which you cannot see and do not care to go."

It reported that at Batak itself skulls picked clean by dogs were to be seen on every hand; that not a roof was left, nor a wall standing and that women had been beheaded. It had been a place of 900 houses and 8-9000 people. Now all that remained was partly burnt bodies and a few women weeping in the ruins.

† One British officer at least, Captain Ardagh, served with the Turkish Army, being ordered there at the time of its operations with Serbia. Sir Arnold Amball was the British Military Attaché with the Turkish Army. Ardagh went to the Berlin Congress as a military adviser and was then a member of the Bulgarian Boundary Commission.

One thing the government was compelled to do was to hold an investigation and to publish a report. To do this it chose the pro-Turkish Mr. Walter Baring (Mr. Baring was a Secretary at the Embassy in Constantinople; \* his Report was published on 10 September 1876), who travelled to the area with Turkish officials but who nevertheless produced a report which made it quite impossible for anybody to deny the atrocities. "Batak", he said, "was the valley of the shadow of death" and he gave abundant details to prove that he did not exaggerate. He estimated the number killed at 12,000 against the 15,000 estimate of the American consul and summed the matter up by describing the massacres as "perhaps the most heinous crime that has stained the history of the present century". All the weight of Gladstone was suddenly thrown into the struggle in a pamphlet called *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, which was followed by *Lessons in Massacre or The Conduct of the Turkish Government in and about Bulgaria, since May 1876*. In these works Gladstone congratulated the Daily News correspondent, Mr. Pears, on being the first to sound the alarm about the Turkish atrocities on 23 June.

"We want", he said, "to place ourselves in harmony with the general sentiment of civilised mankind, instead of being any longer, as we seem to be, the Evil Genius which dogs, and wars, and baffles it."

"The Turks," he said, "must quit Europe 'bag and baggage'." From the official reports he constructed a damning indictment of both Turkish and British Governments, saying that the Bulgarian outrages "unlock to us an entire mystery of iniquity". "They are the true expression of the spirit and policy of the Turkish Government in seasons of emergency."

A year after the revolt, in a House of Commons speech on the Balkans, of 7 May 1877, he said:

Another position still, the 5,000,000 of Bulgarians, cowed and beaten down to the ground, hardly venturing to look upward even to their Father in heaven, have extended their hands to you; they have sent you this petition, they have prayed for your help and protection. They have told you that they do not seek alliance with Russia, or with any foreign power, but that they seek to be delivered from an intolerable burden of woe and shame. That burden of woe and shame—the greatest that exists on God's earth—is one that we thought united Europe was about to remove; but to removing which, for the present, you seem to have no efficacious means of offering even the smallest practical contribution. . . . I believe, for one, that the knell

\* It was because they were afraid that Baring's Report would be pro-Turkish that the American missionaries persuaded their government to send Schuyler to report. See Hall, *Puritan in the Balkans*, pp. 41-2.

write that all the talk of Bulgarian horrors was a "Vulgar and ignorant one-sided partisan political cry" and that really it was the Turks who were being massacred and that by the Russians. Gladstone himself noted the tendencies of this propaganda in a letter to Madame Novikoff on 17 October 1876.

There is [he wrote], an undoubted and smart rally on behalf of Turkey in the Metropolitan press. It is in the main, representative of the ideas and opinions of what are called the upper ten thousand. From this body there has never on any occasion within my memory proceeded the impulse that has prompted and finally achieved any of the great measures which in the last half-century have contributed so much to the fame and happiness of England. They did not emancipate the Roman Catholics and the Jews. They did not reform the Parliament. They did not liberate the negro slaves. They did not abolish the corn law. They did not take the taxes off the press. They did not abolish the Irish established Church. They did not cheer on the work of Italian freedom and reconstitution. Yet all these things have been done, and done by other agencies than theirs, and despite their opposition. When I speak of them, I speak of course of the majority among them. Unhappily the Country is understood abroad mainly through the Metropolitan press.

The truth is that, of course, Gladstone was happy to have a go at Disraeli and, of course, he was no consistent opponent of oppression, but he had now seen that Britain could only lose to Russia by the Government's Turkish policy. Further than this he was particularly outraged by the Turkish decision to pay only half the interest on their foreign loan. "The Turkish repudiation", he wrote, "looms large in my view as one of the greatest of political crimes." The result was that all the stops to his genuine moral indignation could be released and therefore he influenced the country and built a tradition of friendship with Bulgaria which lasted for a long period.

Victor Hugo took the same stand in France and in an impassioned appeal of 27 August 1876, he accused the European governments of maintaining a cold-blooded indifference while all the world was horrified. They had, he said, only to lift a finger for the crimes against the Bulgarian people to be stopped. The campaign, indeed, went on throughout the world and in England in particular it is important to remember that it was supported by two great elements apart from Mr. Gladstone and his followers, one of them being the organised movement of the workers and the other the Church.

In the autumn of 1876, the Eastern Question Association was founded to oppose the war policy of Disraeli by all constitutional means, at a

meeting held in St. James's Hall on 8 December. The very wide list of sponsors of this meeting included Anthony Trollope as well as the historian Freeman, Lord Acton, Stopford Brooke, Ford Madox Brown, Robert Browning, J. Passmore Edwards, J. A. Froude, W. H. Gladstone, T. H. Green, the Hon. Roden Noel, S. L. Poole, the Earl of Shaftesbury, Sir Charles Trevelyan, and many others.

Its treasurer was William Morris who, on 26 October, wrote a letter to the *Daily News* in which he described the Turkish Government as "a gang of thieves and murderers" and said, referring to the massacres:

We have refused to take order that the like desolation shall not happen again, and have forced the Russians to do our share and their own of the business—for which we propose to go to war with them. The Prime Minister Disraeli was [he said] trying to drag us into a shameful and unjust war. It would be impossible, however, even for that clever trickster to do this, not only if united England were in earnest to gainsay him, but even if a large minority were but half in earnest and spoke and said "No". I who am writing this [he said] am one of a large clan of men—quiet men, who usually go about their own business, heeding public matters less than they ought, and afraid to speak in such a huge concourse as the English nation, however much they may feel, but who are now stung into bitterness by thinking how helpless they are in a matter that touches them so closely.

This struggle continued throughout the critical period as is shown in a leaflet issued by the Secretary, Vice-President and Treasurer (Henry Broadhurst, F. W. Campion, and Daniel Guile) of the Labour Representation Committee addressed "To the working men of the United Kingdom", which asked:

What has England to go to war for? Is it to fasten anew the fetters of a hateful despotism around the necks of a now free people in Eastern Europe, and to set upon its legs that revolting power called the Ottoman Empire? When England draws the sword let it be on the side of liberty to the oppressed and down-trodden. Fellow-workers, the noisy minority who are now shrieking for war are not moved by feelings of sympathy for the enslaved of the free. The motive power is their millions invested in Turkish Bonds. . . . Those who are now goading the people into a war with Russia were the friends of Russia when that power was slaying the brave Poles. The same party has ever been the advocate of despotism, whether supporting the late Emperor of the French, or the slave-owners of America. They would be the advocate of Russia to-day were the Power enslaving instead of freeing the people in the East. . . . There is yet time to prevent an unnecessary and wicked war, therefore we ask you in your own interest, in the interest of your families, for the honour and good of our common country, to throw into the cause of peace and liberty, your voice and your influence.



A manifesto was issued on the subject, "To the Working Men of England" in May 1877 which, although unsigned, had actually been written by Morris.

Who are they that are leading us into war: [it asked] Greedy gamblers on the Stock Exchange, idle Officers of the Army and Navy (poor fellows!), worn-out workers of the clubs, desperate purveyors of exciting war-news for the comfortable breakfast-tables of those who have nothing to lose by war; and lastly, in the place of honour, the Tory Rump that we fools, weary of peace, reason and justice, chose at the last election to represent us. O shame and double shame if we march under such leadership as this in an unjust war against a people who are *not* our enemies, against Europe, against freedom, against nature, against the hope of the world.

The campaign against the war was of great importance and the meeting of the Eastern Question Association was an outstanding part of it. Morris wrote a song for the campaign called *Wake, London Lads*, which went like this:

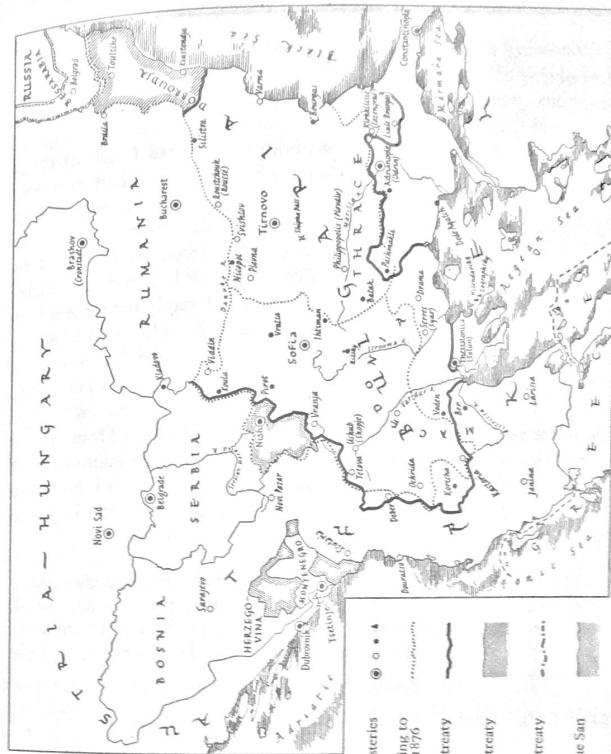
Yea, through the fog of unjust war,  
What thief on us might steal,  
To rob us of the gifts of yore  
The hope of England's weal?

The toilsome years love built and earned,  
Great men in hope have died;  
Shall all the lessons be unlearned,  
The treasures scattered wide?

What! Shall we crouch beneath the load,  
And call the labour sweet,  
And dumb and blind go down the road  
Whence shame abides our feet?

Wake, London lads! The hour draws nigh,  
The bright sun brings the day;  
Cast off the shame, cast off the lie,  
And cast the Turk away.

At the end of the campaign, in January 1877, Morris felt able to write: "There is no doubt that the last fortnight's agitation has stopped Dizzy from asking for money and proposing a Gallipoli expedition." Crowded meetings throughout the campaign were not confined to the great centres of population but even little villages like Plaxtol in Kent had their meetings.



6. BULGARIA OF THE SAN STEFANO TREATY

Capitals, Cities, Towns, Monasteries  
The two Bulgarian autonomous regions according to the Constantinople Ambassadors' Conference, 1876  
Bulgaria under the 1878 San Stefano treaty  
Rumanian territorial gains by the San Stefano treaty  
Russian territorial gains by the San Stefano treaty  
Serbian and Montenegrin territorial gains by the San Stefano treaty

The clergy played an outstanding part in this campaign, and it is a remarkable example of the way in which history is rewritten that to trace their part in it, it is necessary to go back to the newspapers and periodical press of the period because, in the main, their biographies ignore the matter. So, for example, both the *Life and Letters* of Dean Church of St. Paul's and Bishop Frazer of Manchester are silent on the matter although both of them had spoken freely on it. Indeed in all the works of Church the only reference to the subject at all is an acknowledgement by Mary Church in her introduction to the two volumes of the Dean's *Occasional Papers* that he had written articles for *The Guardian* on "The Eastern Question". Exactly the same is true of the biographies of Cardinal Manning and the celebrated Congregationalist, Dr. Dale, although Dale had put the cat right among the pigeons by praying in the City Temple for the defeat of the Turks and, at a great meeting in Birmingham, had exhorted Queen Victoria to follow the example of Cromwell who had ordered a day of humiliation to be observed after the massacres of Protestants in the Piedmont. Of the many *Lives* of Spurgeon, another of the men concerned, only two make any mention of the matter. That by Pike quotes a letter he wrote on the subject which said:

I view the Eastern matter as a question between a bitterly oppressed people and a barbarous despotism which overrides them. I perceive that Turkish rule means oppression, fraud, cruelty, and the crushing down of every principle of liberty, and therefore I long to see the power of the Turks broken to pieces.

And an anonymous *Life and Work* published in 1877 states:

At the close of the year 1877 Mr. Spurgeon was assailed by some newspapers in an almost savage manner for the prayer which he offered one Sunday morning, that the Lord would preserve peace, and if our rulers could not learn wisdom, remove them. He did not trouble much about the abuse of the press. Their fierce language was unheeded when he received a letter from Austria informing him that the words of his prayer had been translated into German and Servian and had been printed in most of the newspapers in these languages, the readers then rejoicing to think that there was one man in England who seemed to comprehend the atrocities suffered by the victims of Turkish barbarism.

There is again no mention of the matter in the *Life of Temple*, then Bishop of Exeter, who later became Archbishop of Canterbury, or, surprisingly enough, in the biography of Archibald Tait by Randall

Davidson, although the Church feeling had grown so strong that the Archbishop had been constrained to appeal for Sunday collections for the victims.

One volume recalls that the Bishop of Oxford, John Mackarness, spoke at the famous St. James's Hall meeting but the participation in the agitation in one way or another of the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Ely and Norwich, is without abiding record.

On the Anglican side outstanding among all those concerned was Canon Liddon of St. Paul's. In a striking sermon preached in St. Paul's on 13 August 1876, he spoke his mind fully and freely, making overt references to the Prime Minister, Mr. Disraeli. Then, at the end of the month, accompanied by the Rector of St. George's, Botolph Lane, Malcolm Maccoll, later a Canon of Ripon, he set off to the Turkish Empire to investigate the matter on the spot. He went actually to Serbia and Croatia and there claimed to have seen victims of the Turks impaled and watched over on their stakes by soldiers. When he reported this in the English Press he caused a *furor* which was not equalled for many years. Consuls and diplomats who had never been to the place concerned vigorously denied the facts, which Liddon, as vigorously, continued to assert. Scott Holland wrote later: "That was a moment never to be forgotten when Liddon challenged the united hostility of England's officialdom." Liddon wrote on his return, "I have returned even more anti-Turk than when I went out", and at a later date he wrote to Dr. Dale: "I cannot help saying to you how greedily the history of that question in England has affected my new feelings towards those who are not members of the Church of England; I have often and often wished that we, as a body, could have been as true to what was morally, as well as theologically, the cause of Christ in Eastern Europe as were the English non-conformists."

When the Eastern Question Association was founded there were 130 clergy among the convenors. These included the Bishops of Lichfield, Manchester and Oxford, Bennett of Frome, Stopford Brooke, Denton of Paddington, the Rector of St. George-in-the-East, Liddon, Knox Little of Manchester, the Vicar of Penrith, Lowder of London Docks, Mackonochie and Talbot, then of Keble. A pamphlet attacking this meeting called *The Great Conference of the Intellect at St. James's Hall*, has this to say of the clergy:

There was Campbell the solemn, and Liddon the Canon, Continuing the themes their chairman began on. . . . The Bishop of Oxford, Lords Waverney, A. Russell, Wright, Freeman, Trevelyan, all joined in the tussle.

Actually one of the most important events of the meeting was the reading of a letter from Pusey in which he said: "I thank God that he has united our hearts, however unhappily divided on other matters, in this great cause of suffering humanity. . . . Save us from the miseries and disgrace of a pro-Turkish war." The chief speaker at the meeting was, of course, Gladstone, but other speakers included Denton to whom reference will be made in a moment, who made a strong anti-Turkish Empire speech and Morse, Vicar of Nottingham and Prebendary of Lincoln, who said: "The right side to us Christians must be the side of the distressed Christian provinces, and not the side of the Ottoman Government," the Rev. Dr. Allen, and Liddon who said that the question was a moral one and was between justice and injustice, between right and wrong.

The Rev. William Denton, who was the Vicar of St. Bartholomew, Cripplegate, had a standing of his own in this matter. He had a strong interest in the Slav peoples and visited Serbia in 1862, as a result of which he published later in the year the first modern book on the country, *Serbia and the Serbians*, in which he took a strong stand against the Turks. He followed this in 1863 with *The Christians in Turkey*, in which he spoke of "a wrong for which we shall have to atone" and which was published the same year in Pesth in German and a year later in Russian. In 1865, *Serbia and the Serbians* was translated into German and published in Berlin. In 1874 he wrote an introduction to Mijatovic's *Serbian Folklore*; in 1876 he published *The Christians of Turkey* which was an enlargement of *The Christians in Turkey*; in 1877 *Montenegro, its People and Their History*, and also introduced *Personal Recollections of Turkish Misrule*, by a Syrian, and wrote for the Eastern Question Association *Fallacies of the Eastern Question*. He was probably the most informed person in the whole discussion.

Other writers for the Eastern Question Association were, J. Llewellyn Davis (*Religious Aspects of the Eastern Question*) who was the Rector of Christ Church, St. Marylebone, and Chaplain to the Queen, and Maccoll. The latter—the man who went east with Liddon—was an intimate of Gladstone and had his share in urging Gladstone to take up the question at all. He wrote in 1878 *Three Years of the Eastern Question* but it was in his book for the Association in 1877 that he summed up the moral, religious and political opinions of a large number of clergy when he said: "Turkish misrule is incurable."

## CHAPTER 5

## AFTER THE LIBERATION

AFTER long centuries Bulgaria had been liberated and now the question came to the forefront, for who? Who were to be the new rulers? What kind of an economy was it to have? What was to be its political constitution? The country had been split as the result of the fears of the Western Powers that a large Slav state in the Balkans would be a barrier to their expansion, and an aid to Russia, so Northern Bulgaria had been made a vassal principedom of Turkey, Southern Bulgaria, named Eastern Roumelia, had become an autonomous province under a Governor-General within the Ottoman Empire, and Macedonia and Thrace had been left to Turkey.

Both in the north and south, the years that were to follow saw the growth of a capitalist economy and the development of a state of a corresponding type. The initial administration was Russian, and under Prince Dondukov it tackled the work of bringing into being a Bulgarian constitution, and it created and equipped a Bulgarian army to which it handed the Danubian flotilla that had been captured from the Turks, as well as the 20,000 horses. It also helped to train officers for the army. The constitution was not imposed, however, from without, but was drawn up by an assembly of notables which met in Tirnovo on 10 February 1879. While this Assembly was in session the country was governed under the terms of the protocols of the conference for restoring order in the Balkan countries\* which had been subscribed to by Turkey, Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia. Under this agreement Bulgaria was divided administratively into the Vilayet Oriental, with its centre at Tirnovo and composed of the Sandjaks of Rousse, Tirnovo, Varna, Tulcha, Sliven, Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and the Cazas of Kırklisse (Lozengrad), Mustapha Pasha (Svilengrad) and Kazalagach (Elhovo) and the Vilayet Occidental with its centre at Sophia, comprising the Sandjaks of Sophia, Vidin, Nisch, Skopje, Bitolia, Sérès (part of) and the Cazas of Stramitsa, Tikvesh, Veles, and Kastoria (Kostur). The administrative unit was to be the canton of 5000 to 10,000 inhabitants

\* It had met from 23 December 1876 to 20 January 1877.



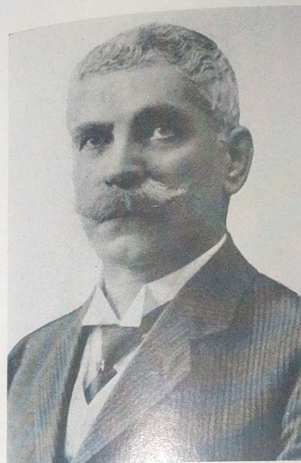
and, so far as possible, Christians and Moslems were to be grouped into district cantons, each of which was to have a council which would elect from its members a Mayor to hold office for four years, which was also to be the term of office of the council. The councils were to meet once a month. Representation of minorities on the councils was to be considered by an international commission. Towns of over 10,000 inhabitants were to have institutions similar to those of the cantons. A number of cantons formed the Sandjak which was to have a Governor of the majority religion, who was appointed by the powers and was to oversee the work of the council and to be in charge of public order. Similarly, at the head of each province there was to be a Governor-General appointed by the Porte who was to govern with an elected Provincial Assembly in which deputies were to represent constituencies of 30 to 40,000, the electors being property-holders of twenty-five years of age, clergy, and teachers. The Assembly was to control the budget but customs and telegraphs were to be as in the rest of the Turkish Empire. Judges were to be appointed by the Governor-General, religion was to be free and clergy and teachers were to be paid by the local councils. Those held in administrative imprisonment were to be released, but the regular Turkish Army was to occupy the country.\*

A close study of this attempted constitution, which was rejected in the course of the ensuing struggle, shows that although it made pretensions of democracy it carefully left all decisive power such as control of public order and the appointment of judges in the hands of appointed officials and not elected bodies, just as it left a Turkish Army in control

\* The basis of local administration remained unaltered for many years. In fulfilment of the 1879 constitution it was elaborated by an Act on Administration of 1882 which was followed in 1886 by separate Acts on the towns and the communes which remained in force throughout the history of the Bulgarian Kingdom although a special act on the Government of Sofia was passed in May 1922 and revised in 1926. There was also an Act of 1925 for the Departments (Counties).

There were sixteen Departments with ninety-one Districts and 2650 Communes. The Prefect, a political agent of the Government, was in charge of local administration with sub-prefects for the district. Communal Councils were elected by voters of twenty-one years of age and upwards, candidates having to be thirty years of age. The Councils were comprised of eight to twelve members in the villages and twelve to thirty members in the towns and had four ordinary sessions of up to fifteen days a year. They were presided over by a Mayor but their decision had to be validated by the Prefect or the Crown. The same procedure was followed for the Departments and for Sofia.

What constituted Bulgarian citizenship was laid down by a law of Nationality of April 1874 which was revised in 1881, 1940, 1944, 1945 and 1948. There were also clauses on the subject in the Treaty of Neuilly of 1919 and the Bulgaro-Greek, Bulgaro-Turkish and Bulgaro-Rumanian (on S. Dobrudja) Treaties of Neuilly as well as a law of November 1940 on S. Dobrudja.

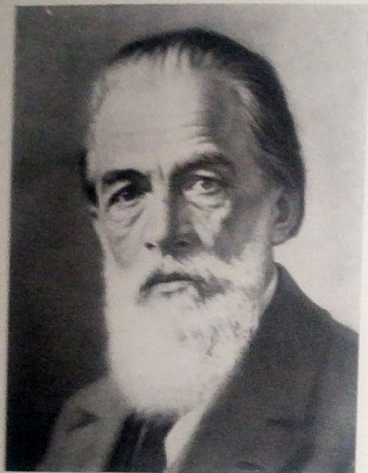


IVAN VASOV (1850-1921)  
Writer

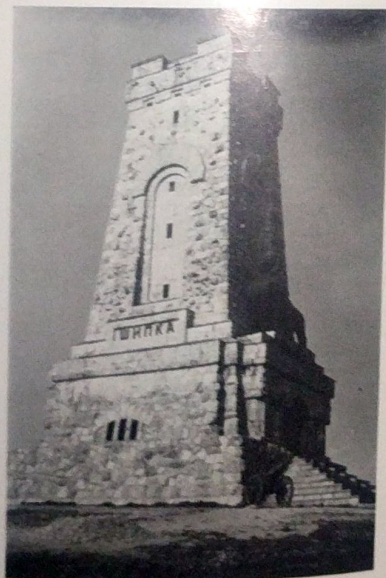


ALEKO  
KONSTANTINOV  
(1863-97)  
Writer





DIMITER BLAGOEV  
(1856-1924)  
The First Bulgarian Marxist



THE MONUMENT  
ON THE SHIPKA  
PASS

of the country. When, however, the effective constitution came to be made, there was not a Turkish, but a Russian, Army in occupation. Since that time, however, the constitutional argument had developed. An International Tribunal had been set up to revise sentences passed against Christians by Extraordinary Tribunals; San Stefano had attempted to make Bulgaria an autonomous principality with a Christian Government and a National Militia; Berlin had in fact constituted an attenuated Bulgaria as an autonomous and tributary principality.

The Russian administration was first headed by the Prince H. Cherkashky, who was, in outlook, a pan-Slav. He established a joint Russo-Bulgarian Committee to collect statistics. He died, however, in March 1878 and was succeeded by Prince Dondukov Korsatov whose policy it was to administer largely through Bulgarian nationals. Five provinces were established from Sofia, Vidin, Tirmovo, Rousse, and Varna. Executive Orders were given by the Governor-General and he appointed a Governor for each province. One of the duties of these Governors was to see that delegates were appointed to the Assembly of Notables prescribed by Article 7 of the San Stefano Treaty and maintained by Berlin. Two hundred and thirty one delegates were appointed, of whom 118 were appointed *de jure*, thirteen being religious leaders, Orthodox, Moslem, and Jewish and the rest represented the judiciary and administration. Of the remaining 113, eighty-nine were elected directly from the population and twenty-four appointed by the Emperor's Committee. The clergy and most of the others were against the idea of an absolute prince, and the statute as finally enacted took some things from the constitution of Serbia and others from Rumania but, for all that, emerged as a highly distinctive document which was passed on 16 April 1879 and survived as Bulgaria's constitution until the adoption of the Dimitrov constitution in 1947, having been slightly amended on 15 May 1893 and again on 11 July 1911. It provided for a hereditary monarchy, the King being the head of the State and legislative power being vested jointly in the King and a representative chamber. Laws were to be voted before being promulgated by the King. The King was also the head of the Army and wielded executive power as well as appointing the judiciary and diplomatic representatives, and signing treaties which were to be reported to the National Assembly by the Ministers "in so far as National Security allows". Orthodoxy was prescribed as the state religion and it was laid down that the King must belong to the Orthodox Church (although an amendment of 1911 permitted exceptions to this). The

National Assembly was composed of the ordinary National Assembly elected from territorial constituencies and a Grand National Assembly called by the King. While it is true that the executive power under this constitution was carefully withheld from the elected representatives of the people, yet on the legislative side the constitution was unusually liberal in providing for a single chamber parliament elected by manhood suffrage, any citizen of thirty years of age or more and being literate, being eligible for election. There was also a system of payment of members and the institution of equal electoral districts. This democracy, however, was largely vitiated by the fact that the Assembly had no control over the Minister whatsoever and by the fact that the King could dissolve it at will. By an amendment of Article 17 the King could conclude treaties without notifying the National Assembly. The Principedom (it became a Kingdom later) was fixed in the male line, the Prince being granted an annual income of £24,000. Complete freedom of the Press was prescribed by the constitution. The Grand National Assembly when called by the Prince did not meet at Sofia but at *Tirnovo*\* and was called to consider the election of the original Prince, to nominate Regents, to extend the territory of the country or to revise the constitution. Nor was the constitution wholly ineffective despite the maxim of Prince Dondukov, "*Les Constitutions, c'est comme les jolies femmes, elles ne demandent qu'à être violées!*" Indeed the passing of the constitution was widely held to be a victory for the "extremists".

The next question was who should be the Prince, and it need hardly be said that there was sharp canvassing for the well-paid job of puppet Prince. The final result was the success of a compromise candidate, a twenty-two-year-old Prussian officer who was a nephew of the Tsar and the son of Prince Alexander of Hesse, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, who consulted Bismark and was advised that the new throne would at any rate be a "pleasant reminiscence". The choice was not a happy one despite the fact that the young man possessed in considerable quantity both the social graces and the autocratic temper which made him a thoroughly adequate junior Prussian officer. The Prince was formally elected on 17 April 1879. Although he was regarded as acceptable to the other powers he was, in fact, the Russian candidate and was expected by the Tsar to behave as such.

Before occupying his throne the Prince toured Europe and interviewed Andrassy in Vienna, Bismark in Berlin, and Beaconsfield, Salisbury and Queen Victoria in London. To Andrassy he claimed to

\* At a later stage it met in Sofia.

have stated that the separation of the two Bulgarias was due to the ignorance of Lord Beaconsfield of the character and effort of the Bulgarian people and warned that the movement for the reunion of the two would become an avalanche and would be irresistible. He also interviewed the Sultan in Constantinople. Then, on 13 July, he entered Sofia in a triumphal procession in which Stepan Stambolov carried a banner with the inscription "Remember all—Bulgarians" which demonstrated the inflexible opposition of both people and leaders to the dismemberment. The procession passed through an arch which bore the words, "Welcome, Prince, we have expected you for 500 years."

The years 1879 to 1881 were years in which the dominating factor in the political life of Bulgaria was an acute struggle between Prince Alexander and the elected Assembly. The Assembly did not represent the interests of the people in the towns or even of the peasantry; but both the Conservatives and the Liberals who composed it, nationalists as they were and concerned with the development of a native Bulgarian capitalism, soon became convinced that the Prince, who without authority and despite the constitution took to himself the titles of "Highness" and "Excellency", was turning the country over to Austria and Germany. They differed among themselves in their attitude to Russia but those who opposed a close relation with the Tsar did not want the close relation with Berlin and Vienna for which Alexander stood. At first the Conservatives were in power but they were soon followed by the Liberals, led by Lyuben Stoikov, Karavelov, and Dragan Zankov. But the Prince was an uncompromising Conservative and Karavelov, refusing to appoint a coalition ministry with those just dismissed from office, was not allowed to form a ministry at all. Instead of this the Conservatives, who had been defeated at the polls, formed a Government. A further election soon became inevitable and again the Liberals won and the Prince was compelled to accept a Liberal Ministry under Zankov who was later replaced by Karavelov who held office until May 1881, when the Prince solved his problem, which included the refusal of the Assembly to appropriate sums of money for a sumptuary redecoration of his palace, by the dismissal of the Assembly and the suspension of the constitution. Previous to this action he had been urged by the Austro-Hungarian Minister in Sofia to remove the Russian Ambassador ("this pest") and had put to the Emperors of Austria, Russia, and Germany the question of his resignation. It seems that he did this mainly as a threat to prevent their interference in what was to follow. What followed, on 23 May, with the

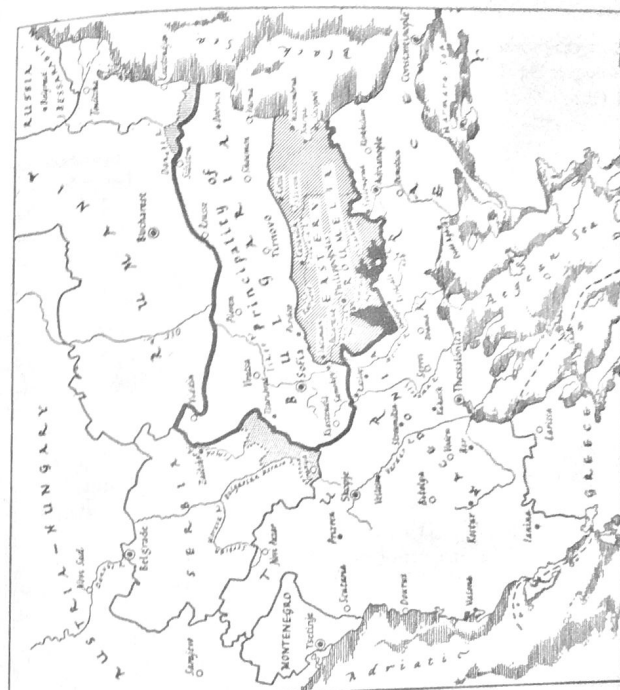


energetic support of Austria, the measured support of Germany, the regretful support of Russia, and the support\* of the British Liberal Government, was the Prince's suspension of the National Assembly for seven years and the appointment of military tribunals with power to decree sentences of death and special tribunals to muzzle the Press. The appeal of the Bulgarian Liberals to Mr. Gladstone met with little response and it was left to the German Ambassador to address Alexander publicly as "a guarantee of order and tranquillity".

The *coup d'état* would not have been possible without Russia's connivance and the Russians who connived at it were not fools. They had not permitted it to happen for the greater glory of Vienna or Bismarck and the Prince soon found that, without an Assembly, his Russian adviser had much greater power than heretofore. It was their nominees who built the first Bulgarian railway and they who determined its location. Soon the President of the Council, the Minister of War, the Chief of Police, the Governor of Sofia, and thirty senior army officers were all Russians, and to amend the situation, in June 1882, Alexander had to journey to Petrograd, only to succeed in changing the personnel, but not the policy of the Russian representatives. Then, in order to free himself from the power of the Tsar, in 1883, he restored the constitution and a Liberal Government came into being. A plot to carry Alexander off to Russia and depose him was frustrated.

From the moment of its creation Eastern Roumelia had longed for reunion with the rest of Bulgaria. When the Russian Army of Occupation left in 1874, the Bulgarian Aleko Pasha became Governor-General, but he supported the demand for reunion and was replaced in 1884. While Turkey played politics in this fashion the Bulgarians organised "gymnastic societies" and as early as April 1879, British representatives were protesting that the Russians were supplying them with arms. By 1881 two political parties had emerged in the country, one being Liberal and the other, called Unionist, being Conservative. Both stood for the union but the latter differed from the former in seeing the road to it through the help of Russia. Karavelov and some of his colleagues were active in Philippopolis. Finally the Liberals of Southern Bulgaria (Eastern Roumelia) inflamed by the refusal of the Governor-General under the direct order of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid, to allow the Bulgarian flag to be flown in Philippopolis, decided to

\* State Papers, Bulgaria No. 1, 1881, states categorically that His Majesty's Government supported the Prince.



- Capitals, Cities, Towns
- ◉ Eastern Roumelia according to the Berlin Congress
- ▨ Serbian territorial gains under the Berlin Congress
- ▩ Rumanian territorial gains under the Berlin Congress
- ▧ Territories ceded by Bulgaria to the Ottoman Empire by the Agreement of 20 January 1886, after the union with Eastern Roumelia

#### 7. BULGARIA AFTER THE BERLIN CONGRESS AND THE UNION WITH EASTERN ROUMELIA

take affairs into their own hands and on 18 September 1885 they imprisoned the Governor-General, seized power, and proclaimed the Union.\* Their telegram to Alexander read:

To His Highness Prince Alexander! The whole people of South Bulgaria has to-day in all cities and places proclaimed the union with North Bulgaria and designated Your Highness as Prince. The army of South Bulgaria has already taken the oath of allegiance and stationed itself on the Turkish border. They await with impatience to see their new chief in their midst and to receive his orders.

Advised by Karavelov that he could choose only between accepting the union or abdicating, Alexander went to Philippopolis and on 20 September was proclaimed Prince of North and South Bulgaria. This action was, of course, a serious assault on the Treaty of Berlin and there was some fear of international complications. This time, however, the roles were reversed and, although Bismark was now deeply opposed to a united Bulgaria, Britain was not† and a demonstration by the British Navy prevented any attempt to interfere with the Bulgarians. The act of union was therefore another outstanding success for Bulgarian nationalism. It was preceded in the economic sphere by the completion of the Railway Bill of 1884 which had provided for the national construction of railways by the compulsory purchase in 1886 of the British-owned Rouse-Varna Railway.

It was not, however, the British naval demonstration alone that saved Bulgaria on this occasion. Judging that the possibilities of foreign support‡ were considerable, Serbia chose this moment to attack Bulgaria, in any case underestimating quite fundamentally Bulgaria's capacity to resist. The objective was, of course, the securing of Macedonia for a greater Serbia in the name of the old Serb King, Stephen Dusan, and King Milan of Serbia was toasted in the streets of Belgrade as "King of Serbia and Macedonia". War was declared by telegram on 13 November 1885, for the next day (compared with today it was an age of chivalry), and Bulgarians flocked to the standards for the defence of their country. Six thousand Bulgarian Moslems or

\* The British Consul had long expected this. See Parliamentary Paper, Turkey, 1880.

† At the diplomatic conference of the powers in Sofia, Great Britain argued for the *status quo*. But her Consul in Philippopolis was reporting the popular feeling and her chief concern was to prevent Russian intervention. The powers discussed the matter and tabled their respective standpoints at a conference held at Constantinople. (State Papers, Turkey No. 1, 1887.)

‡ Particularly that of Austria-Hungary.

Pomaks joined up, the Bulgarians of Macedonia formed a "Brigade" of over 3000 men and within a few days a force of 90,000 men was in existence. A three-day battle was fought at Slivnitsa, at the end of which the Serbs were decisively routed. The Bulgarian forces, refusing an armistice, then crossed the frontier, occupied Pirot and were ready to march on to Belgrade which nothing could have prevented them taking. At that point, however, the Austrian Minister to Belgrade, Count Khevenhuller, was sent to Bulgarian headquarters to make it clear that if there was any further advance Austria would enter the war. The result was the conclusion of peace by the Treaty of Bucharest in March 1886, which, while it secured the union (although not the legal independence) of Bulgaria, was unduly favourable to Serbia. Bulgaria had to give Turkey two small districts on the southern frontier, Timrish and Kirdjali. The treaty was signed between Turkey, Serbia, and Bulgaria. It rejected the Bulgarian claim to an indemnity (asked for in pigs) but it secured the Bulgarian union by compelling a separate treaty in which the Sultan named the Prince of Bulgaria as the Governor-General of "South Bulgaria".

While it was the Bulgarian readiness to defend itself and its success in doing so which really secured the union, there were those at home who no more believed in the possibility of this than did most people abroad and at the time of Slivnitsa the national exchequer was sent to Plevna and Dragan Zankov was preparing a provisional government which would ask for Russian support. Similar forces soon prepared the abortive Bourgas plot against the life of Alexander. This was followed by a plot which had the support of the army, the acting Minister of War and the Metropolitan Clement, to dethrone the Prince and on 21 August 1886, he was arrested and compelled to sign a deed of abdication which he did typically enough in German. Alexander was then conveyed to Russia and Zankov formed a new Government. Immediately, however, Stambolov, who was the President of the Assembly, supported by the Military Governor of Philippopolis, declared the Metropolitan and his colleagues to be outlaws, appealed directly to the people and dissolved the Provisional Government, himself forming a Regency. After much telegraphing the exiled Prince was discovered and returned to Bulgaria where he acted with his customary ineptitude.

When Alexander landed at Rouse, among those joined with Stambolov to greet him was the Russian Consul who suggested to the Prince a telegram to the Tsar. This telegram was duly sent, concluding with the astonishing phrase, "Russia gave me the crown; I am ready

to return it into the hands of her Sovereign." After this not even Stambolov could save Alexander. The reply of the Tsar was not what the Prince had expected. It ran: "Cannot approve your return to Bulgaria. I shall refrain from all interference with the sad state to which Bulgaria has been brought, as long as you remain there." On 7 September 1886, Alexander again abdicated, appointing Stambolov, Sava Markusov,\* and Karavelov as Regents on the basis of an agreement that Russia would permit Bulgaria herself to elect another Prince. Alexander then left the country to become an Austrian officer. He died in 1893.

1885 was an important year in the development of Bulgarian capitalism which had by then reached the stage of necessitating a national bank, which was set up by a law of 27 January (8 February) with a capital of 10,000,000 gold francs, the Government having the right to survey and control the bank. Nevertheless, despite its growth, young Bulgarian capitalism neither succeeded in solving the problems of industrialisation nor in increasing the well-being of the people, as is abundantly demonstrated by a few figures. The population of the Principality of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia was about 3,400,000 in 1876-7 and 4,400,560 in 1911. The percentage of town population to the total declined, so that whereas in 1880 the urban population was 19.3 per cent of the total and the rural 80.7 per cent, by 1910 the figures were 19.1 per cent and 80.9 per cent respectively. Public property in land declined from 35.6 per cent of the total in 1897 to 34.8 per cent in 1908, while privately-owned property increased from 41.3 per cent to 48.1 per cent. Land in use increased from 76.9 per cent of the total to 82.9 per cent. If the lot of the people did not increase, the national fortune did and it rose from 3,852.6 million leva in 1892-5 to 10,482.2 million leva in 1911. If we take 1894 as a specimen year, we find that the state of Bulgaria was roughly as follows. It had a population of 3,500,000 of whom 2,500,000 were engaged in agriculture. Its population was overwhelmingly Orthodox in religion, the Orthodox Church being governed by a Synod, which nominated three candidates for vacant bishoprics who were then voted on by the parishes and the resultant candidate nominated to the Government. There was no trial by jury, the Napoleonic Code in general being followed. Perhaps the most significant thing in the country was the overwhelming desire for education, which was in the hands of the central government and not of the local government, and which accounted for one-seventh of all public expenditure. There was, of

\* The head of the Garrison in Philippopolis.

course, no real higher education and public servants were mainly recruited from those who had been educated either in Russia or in Western Europe or at the Robert College, which was run by American missionaries in Constantinople. There was compulsory military service at the age of twenty. The Parliament or *Sobranje* had not yet become in a genuine sense a constitutional legislature. Translated into English money of that period, the capital with which the country had started in 1879 was less than £500,000. The sum in the National Bank of Bulgaria was £80,000 and there was £170,000 in the Treasury. In 1880, £250,000 had to be handed over to the Russian Government for war and occupation charges. In 1894 the Budget was composed of:

<i>Receipts</i>	
Direct Taxes	£1,677,690
Indirect Taxes	894,480
Imposts	156,260
Fines	28,820
State Revenue	301,960
Royalties	230,310
Miscellaneous	753,580
	<hr/> £4,043,100

<i>Expenditure</i>	
Public debt	£693,496
High Court Account	10,815
Civil List	70,867
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	136,132
Ministry of the Interior	374,051
Ministry of Education	352,949
Ministry of Finance	680,998
Ministry of Justice	190,549
Ministry of War	896,511
Ministry of Commerce & Agriculture	168,614
Ministry of Public Works	516,096
	<hr/> £4,091,078

The Bank was a function of the administration and by the year we are discussing it had achieved assets of £3,020,000. Following very rough estimates there were five people with capital of over £40,000,



fifty with capital of over £20,000 and 200 with capital over £5,000. The industry of the country comprised:

54 Woollen Factories.	2 Snuff Factories.
28 Cotton Mills.	3 Pottery Works.
1206 Small Handicraft Workshops.	36 Printing Offices.
8 Distilleries.	8 Soap Works.
66 Steam and Water Mills.	1 Silk Factory.
17 Breweries.	2 Ink manufacturers.
2 Dyeing Works.	2 Powder Mills.
23 Saw Mills.	2 Paste manufacturers.
23 Wool-cording Works.	1 Basket Factory.
92 Cigar and Cigarette Factories.	55 Tanneries.
16 Flax Works.	

In 1887 there had been only thirty-six large industrial enterprises. By 1901 there were approximately 200. There were only two main railway lines both of them running east-west. The Rousse-Varna line had been constructed by an English company before the liberation, while the Tsaribrod-Sofia-Vakaul line, which had been built by an Austrian company for the Eastern Railway Company, was purchased by the State in 1908. There was no connection between the two systems and no connection at all with the Aegean. The key to the railway system is that it linked Germany and Constantinople through Budapest and Vienna, instead, as had been planned at one time, of making links with Russia.

The Turkish landlords having fled, Bulgaria at once became, from an agricultural standpoint, a land of small peasant farms, which is why the Agrarian Party, founded in 1899, played so large a part in its political development. Large numbers of peasants gained land from the flight of the Turkish landlords, but for all that their position was a hard one. Commodity and money relations developed together with indebtedness to money lenders. Taxation was heavy and while the peasants were confronted with mass ruin a small rich group among them, as well as the traders, flourished. The differentiation among the peasants increased throughout the period.

In 1894 a number of laws were passed for the protection of national industry by special financial measures and by an alteration of customs tariffs. Both the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and foreign monopolists put their capital into light industry rather than heavy industry since it brought a more rapid profit. The growth of capitalism was accompanied by the ruin of the small handicraft producers and by the growth of a town working class. So by 1893 the number of independent

peasant producers was 21.4 per cent less than in 1888, while landless labourers had increased by 33.6 per cent. By 1898 there were 300,000 workmen and commercial employees.

From the very beginning of the creation of this new Bulgarian State a fundamental struggle was joined between the people and their rulers, which was soon to have its issue in the creation of the Labour Movement. Immediately after the liberation, 24 May, the day of Saints Cyril and Methodius, was decreed a national holiday, but the fact that this day was associated with Slavdom and with Russia made it deeply distasteful to the German dynasty which occupied the Bulgarian throne and an attempt was made to proscribe its public celebration. Popular pressure secured the continuance of the celebration but the incident is important as typifying the basic divergence of interest between the people and their rulers, the former being possessed of a native and popular patriotism and the latter being enslaved to a "greater Bulgaria" fanaticism which was destined to lead the country to the brink of total disaster from which eventually only the forces of the people were able to extricate it.

From 1886 until 1894 Stambolov, the Liberal leader, was the virtual dictator of Bulgaria and ruled in an anti-Russian direction, representing that section of the bourgeoisie which based its policies on the support of Austria-Hungary. All his important opponents were imprisoned before he allowed the 1886 election to take place and when it did in many places armed soldiers discouraged those whom it was thought might oppose Stambolov, from coming to the ballot boxes at all. Out of 522 deputies, 470 were his supporters; the group which stood for friendship with Russia was completely eliminated. Opposition to Stambolov was driven underground and led to many attempted outbreaks against his rule. It came both from the working class and the industrial capitalists, both of which groups suffered from Stambolov's policy of the free entry of foreign capital, especially that of Austria-Hungary, as well as from his police dictatorship.

The dominating character of this period, Stambolov, was born in Timovo in 1854, the son of an hotelier, and went to a Bulgarian school until it was closed in 1868, when he became apprenticed to a tailor. Subsequently he went back to school. He had been much impressed in 1868 when 125 men crossed the Danube and advanced on Timovo, as the result of which, on capture, thirty of them had been decapitated. The result was that at an early age he had joined the local revolutionary committee. He gained a Russian scholarship and from 1870 to 1872 was at the University of Odessa where he studied for the priesthood

and joined the Nihilists, for which latter act he was expelled from the country. He then joined the Bulgarian revolutionaries in Bucharest under Karavelov and was sent by them back into Bulgaria. He learned from the Pope (Priest) Matei of Timovo of what was left of Levsky's Committees and he went round as a wandering book pedlar re-organising them. After this he was betrayed in a case of revolver smuggling and compelled to go into hiding, but he was back in Bucharest in 1875 and when the Committee split, he supported Christo Botev and toured Rumania for him. He was sent to prepare a rising in Esky-Zagrar when the Bosnian and Herzegovinian revolution took place but received no support and had to flee. He then returned to take part in the abortive rising on 11 May, but was soon defeated and had to flee back to Bucharest. He served under General Kishelsk in the Turko-Serbian war and then went on to the Russo-Turkish war. He took an active part in the Gyurgevo Committee which came into being in 1875 to prepare the April rising. He was himself the "Apostle" in the Timovo revolutionary district. After the liberation he became a deputy for Timovo and was one of those chosen to deliver the "Roumelian" address of greetings (with 250,000 signatures) to the Russian Emperor. The treaty was denounced, however, before the address was delivered and Roumelia split off from the rest of Bulgaria by the treaty of Berlin, upon which Stambolov then joined the Committee to support an uprising in Pirin Macedonia.

In the summer of 1879, Stambolov took his seat in the Chamber of Timovo and set up in the city as a lawyer. In the spring of 1880 he was elected Vice-President of the Chamber. When in 1884 the Chamber met at Timovo and Karavelov became the President, Stambolov became President of the Chamber. In 1885 he was a zealous supporter of the Union. Throughout the war with Serbia he was the chief adviser of the Crown. Now, in the situation following the abdication and with more demonstrations taking place in the streets, under his guidance the Assembly voted for Prince Valdemar of Denmark to occupy the vacant throne, but he refused to accept it and three Regents had to be appointed, while an attempted rebellion at Rousse was put down. Still the question remained, to whom the throne was to go and in December 1886 negotiations began in Vienna with Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg Gotha who was eventually elected although strongly opposed by Russia. He left for Sofia in August 1887, without the assent of the Powers, none of whom recognised him at first despite his agreement with his suzerain, the Sultan Abdul Hamid. He was a Catholic and an Austrian, but took the oath in Timovo in 1887.

Although he eventually learned the language the real power remained with Stambolov for some years. Only in 1888 did Ferdinand secure the recognition of the Powers.

Stambolov concentrated on promoting the building of railways and making friends with Turkey, so that in 1890 he managed to secure Turkish assent to the appointment of Bulgarian bishops to the Macedonian Sees of Ochrida and Skopje. Later two more Bulgarian bishops were appointed, Bulgarian schools were put on an equality with Greek, and forty Bulgarian communes received official recognition. There were a series of revolts and conspiracies against the régime, the one which attracted most attention being the Panitsa plot of 1890 in which a major of the army, a former friend of Alexander, set out to dethrone Ferdinand expecting to have the support of the Tsar. Stambolov insisted on his execution. Attempts soon followed on the lives of both Stambolov and Ferdinand. The Minister of Finance, M. Belchev, was killed in mistake for Stambolov and the same circles then organised the assassination of Dr. Vulkovic, the Bulgarian Agent in Constantinople.

In May 1894 Prince Ferdinand engineered the resignation of Stambolov and pursued him thereafter with relentless hostility. Stambolov instituted a strong Press campaign against the new Stoilov Government and was then brought to court for "defamation of the Prince". There was an open terrorism against his supporters and Stoilov put through measure after measure against them. One was a law "for the prosecution of Government Officials, who appear to possess more wealth than they ought". The existing pensions system by which the former Stambolov ministers lived, was abolished. Stambolov's own property was sequestered. The peasants felled the timber on his estates. He was refused a passport to leave the country and then, on 15 July 1895, he was assassinated. The assassins were never arrested nor was the Prince represented at his funeral. Stambolov had written his own epitaph when he had said, "I used my power unconstitutionally and arbitrarily. I admit the folly."

Shortly before the death of Stambolov an heir to the throne had been born, who received the name of Boris, who was brought up in the Orthodox religion and at the same time some sort of Bulgaro-Russia *rapprochement* was achieved. In 1896 Ferdinand was received in both Petersburg and Paris and was able to begin his own long policy which brought his country to disaster and which led him to say himself to the French Minister in 1903, "The truth is that they hate me." They did, and he felt it and went throughout his life in fear of assassination.

For a time the politics of Ferdinand appeared to be successful. Bulgarian railways grew, capitalism made certain advances\* and with conditions in Turkey grew worse, leading to the Young Turk revolt of 1908 and Bulgarian relations with the growing power of Serbia necessarily deteriorated, both of them being in the grip of expansionist policies. Backed by Austria, Ferdinand thus felt strong enough in 1908, which was Turkish property, to seize the line by military force and then, on 5 October, to proclaim the complete independence of Bulgaria from Turkey and to style himself King (i.e. Tsar).† Two days later Austria seized Bosnia and Herzegovina from Turkey. Throughout this period, too, feelings were growing in and over Macedonia where there had been major outbursts in 1903.

Precisely because this period was that of the rise of capitalism in Bulgaria, it was also that of the rise of the organised working-class movement. The first May Day demonstrations in Bulgaria were held in 1890 and the first Socialist Congress, led by Blagoev, took place in the Stara Planina Mountains in August 1891. Dimitar Blagoev had founded the first working-class magazine *The Contemporary Indicator* in 1885. The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party actually came into existence on 9 August 1891 and by 1899 it had a membership of 800 which grew to 1761 in 1900, to 2180 in 1901, and 2507 in 1902. Right through this decade this young party waged an active and successful propaganda for the ideas of socialism and against the ideas of Bulgarian nationalism, upholding the ideal of a working-class internationalism and a recognition of the rights of other peoples. Such ideas, however, had to be fought for even within the revolutionary party itself and the result was a struggle between the revolutionary trend led by Blagoev, and a reformist and compromising trend led by Yanko Sakazov. The struggle was fought out at the tenth Congress of the Party in 1903 which resulted in a total victory for Blagoev and his followers. There followed a period in the history of the Party, which is known as that of the "Narrow" or Left Socialists. It was a period in which there was a great zeal among the members of the party and a readiness to submit their private interests to a common discipline. It fought for the interests of the working people and for international justice and so it struggled for the eight-hour day, for elementary social

\* A commercial agreement in 1897 between Great Britain and Bulgaria gave British subjects complete freedom to trade in Bulgaria.

† He had married the Protestant Princess Eleonora of Reuss in March.

reforms, and for the trade union movement. It organised the miner's strike at Pernik in 1906 as well as many other strikes; it opposed the Balkan wars; it helped to create a federation of Balkan socialist parties. The need for this movement will be clear to anybody who reads the report of a British observer in 1890\* who, discussing rebuilding operations in Sofia, wrote, "If the inhabitants objected to evacuating their tenements, a squad of sappers simply tore the roofs off from over their heads. As the weather was severe, this rough and ready system succeeded admirably."

Trade unions of tobacco-workers, tailors, copper-smiths, and metal-workers sprang up rapidly one after the other in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The Bulgarian Typographical Society with its newspaper *Rabotnik* (The Worker), was organised in Sofia in 1883. At a very early period these unions fell under the influence of Blagoev and became uncompromisingly political in their aims. Georgi Dimitrov himself first came to fame as an outstanding trade union leader and it was due to the influence of a number of such men that the unions remained the focal point of working-class aspirations throughout the fascist period. There were great tobacco workers' strikes in 1927, 1934, and 1940, strikes of the Sliven textile workers in 1936 and 1938, of Sofia tramway workers in September 1944, and of the miners at the same time.

Throughout this period an important part was played in the Bulgarian story by an outstanding Englishman, J. D. Bourchier. Bourchier was an unsuccessful school-master at Eton, afflicted with deafness, who was sent by *The Times* in 1888 to Rumania and Bulgaria to report on the events of that period. He also wrote an interesting article in the *Fortnightly Review* in July 1888 called "Through Bulgaria with Prince Ferdinand". Thereafter he stayed in the Balkans, mainly in Bulgaria, and for three years sent dispatches to *The Times*. After that he became the official Balkans correspondent for the newspaper in 1892, and lived at the Grand Hotel de Bulgaria in Sofia. He wrote both political and geographical dispatches, travelled in Greece and succeeded in achieving intimate relations with many Balkan politicians so that he himself began to play an important political role. At first he had a close relationship with the royal family and Prince Ferdinand but parted company with these circles in 1895 and became a critic. He was a strong supporter of Stambolov. In 1895, perhaps as one expression of his new-found opposition, he reported that local bands were making reprisals against Bulgarian Turks for the persecution of

\* A. G. Hulme-Beaman, *Twenty Years in the Near East*, London, 1898.



Bulgarians in Macedonia. He was strongly attacked for this and went to make a personal investigation, on which he spent twelve weeks, at the end of which he reported the Turks in question to be "in a well-founded state of terror". This, indeed, was one of the matters in which the nationalist movement and the Bulgarian Macedonian movement to on the one side, and the working-class movement we have just referred to on the other, were poles asunder. In the years before 1900, apart from articles on Crete and Ireland, Bourchier covered all the Balkans except Turkey, including Serbia and Montenegro. He made long visits to Macedonia, as a result of which he adopted a pro-Bulgarian standpoint and criticised the Greeks and their methods in Macedonia. He wrote the articles on Bulgaria for the tenth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1908 he was criticised by *The Times* for being pro-Bulgarian and was for a short time suspended. After the Young Turk revolution in 1908 he saw a Greeco-Bulgaro *entente* as the only answer to the growing power of Turkey and played a leading part in organising it. He approved of the Carnegie Report on the course of the Balkan wars, in which H. M. Boilopret was the British representative and was an opponent of the Treaty of Bucharest. In January 1915 he put forward to the British Government a scheme for ensuring Bulgarian neutrality in the First World War, by her being promised Macedonia. In 1918 he retired from *The Times* and his last years were spent in endeavouring to secure for the Balkans a more just peace than the one which was actually imposed. He died in 1920 and was buried at the Rila Monastery.

While it is true that one section of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie was fundamentally anti-Russian, and while it is equally true that Tsarist interference in Bulgaria was by no means disinterested, it is also true that the mass of the Bulgarian people felt deeply indebted to Russia for their liberation and that in beginning its life anew as a state, Bulgaria received very important help from Russia. It is not, therefore, surprising that the revolutionary years in Russia, from 1905 to 1907, had a profound effect upon Bulgaria and that there was in these years a great wave of strikes and a great increase in the membership of the working-class movement, so that whereas in 1900, 1000 workers were organised, by 1911 the figure was 30,000. The Bulgarian Church was also much helped by the Russian Church which supplied it with equipment and books and educated many of its clergy in Russian seminaries. It took some years, however, before a full inter-communion was established. There were examples of priests acting for the other church in the war of 1877-8 and similarly at the dedication of the

Russian memorial church to those who fell at Shipka in 1902, but they lacked the approval of the Russian Holy Synod and were sharply rebuked by Constantinople. Full and direct contact between the two churches began only in 1910 after the residence of the Bulgarian Exarch was removed from Constantinople to Sofia. From this time on relations on both sides were fully friendly. In 1914 a member of the Bulgarian Synod, the Metropolitan Basil, blessed the Russian Embassy church in Sofia; after the First World War the Bulgarian Church refused to recognise either the Polish or the Ukrainian autocephalies, both breakaways from the Russian Church, and in 1954 the Moscow Patriarchy took the lead in recognising the ending of the Bulgarian schism and the full autocephaly of the Bulgarian Church, thereby compelling Constantinople to do the same.

The liberation of Bulgaria produced an important development of Bulgarian thought and culture. The name of Ivan Vasov, who lived from 1850 to 1921 and who wrote *Under the Yoke*, has already been mentioned. There were many other writers of importance, Aleko Konstantinov (1863-97) was one who died in his prime. Yordan Yankov, whose *White Swallow and Other Short Stories* has been translated into English, was another. His stories are mainly of the Dobrudja and his most original book *If they could speak* was about animals. Yankov was born in Kotel in 1880, but later moved to the Dobrudja. He was a soldier in the wars of 1912 and 1914, an experience that brought him very close to the ordinary people. His greatest work is *The Legends of Stara Planina*. He died in 1937.

#### *The Balkan League and the Balkan Wars*

The desire to free the Balkan peoples of Thrace and Macedonia from Turkish domination, despite their many and several jealousies, finally drove Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro to join together to form the Balkan League. The Macedonian question had been fanned into a flame since 1893 by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation ("IMRO") which had been founded by Damian Gruev and Christo Tatarchev and which soon had branches all over the country, and came under the leadership of Gotsi Delchev. The organisation was founded in Salonika and had a strong democratic basis having, in addition to its Central Committee, committees in districts, counties, cities, and villages. It saw its task as the liberation of Macedonia by means of a mass insurrection. "Macedonia will gain its freedom," said Delchev, "by way of an armed internal uprising—

whoever thinks differently deceives both himself and others." So strong did the organisation become that it created an alternative administration in Macedonia and had not only its own army but its own postal service, police, education and health departments, its own income tax, its own courts as well as representatives abroad. The Committee stood for an autonomous Macedonia and its chief enemy was the Supreme Macedonian Committee (the Vurkhovisti) organised in Sofia by King Ferdinand which aimed at the Bulgarian annexation of Macedonia. The insurrection for which the Committee worked had to be postponed and Delchev himself was killed in a fight with Turkish troops near the village of Banitsa on 8 May 1903. In 1902, a small detachment, led by General Tsonchev, had crossed from Bulgaria to Macedonia in the hope of creating a general rising, but it was not supported by IMRO and it did little more than bring savage reprisals upon the people. The reprisals were met by dynamitings in Salonica, and they, in turn, were met by a reign of terror. To this IMRO replied on 2 August 1903 with the general insurrection which assumed its maximum proportions in the Bitolya District where Gruev had his headquarters. Over 30,000 people were involved and they fought for three months against the 300,000 Turkish troops put in the field by Abdul Hamid. For eleven days a Macedonian Republic had existed at Krushovo. Most of the leaders fell in the struggle and in the savage suppression of the insurrection 201 villages were destroyed. Nearly 5000 of the Macedonian patriots were killed, over 70,000 lost their homes, and over 30,000 had to flee to Bulgaria to save themselves. Over 3000 women were carried off by the Turks. The leader of this movement, Gotsi Delchev, it is important to notice, was a revolutionary socialist who sympathised and worked with both Karavelov and Blagoev and was inspired by the teaching of the latter as he was by that of Levsky and Botev.

A similar movement had taken place in Thrace (Vilayet of Odrinski) and there 20,000 were homeless. The scandal of all this, however, was great, and Austria, Hungary, and Russia insisted on the limited Mürtzeg reforms which gave a semblance of local democracy and included some reform of the Turkish police. The pressure was, however, largely by Germany, which had become an ardent supporter of Turkey (in the interests of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway). Agents of many powers became active in the area and worked hard, with some success, to set the bands of one nationality against those of another. Macedonia became a prey to anarchy. Although there was some slight amelioration of this general condition in 1908 and 1909 following the

Young Turk Revolution, yet in general this was the background in Macedonia against which the Balkan League was founded.

Readers of a certain type of book on Bulgaria will get the impression that the mind of the whole of the Bulgarian peasantry and the mind of all Bulgarians was perpetually concerned with Macedonia or questions of a greater Bulgaria. The truth is that the great majority of them were preoccupied with the general struggle for existence and by their own local affairs and nothing makes this more clear than the Samokov Commune of 1910. In the local elections of that year (13 June) the left-wing socialists won eight out of the fourteen seats on the council, which then engaged in extensive economic activity, supplied the workers' districts with electricity and sewerage, set up a fire brigade, inspected the labour conditions in all privately-owned works and gave grants for school books and clothes to poor children, created an unemployment bureau, claimed rent for a royal palace which had been built on municipal ground, and proposed to float a loan of 400,000 leva to build an aqueduct, modern baths, a town hall, and an hotel. When it adopted the red flag with the inscription "Samokov Municipality" as its official emblem and flew it from the town hall, it was taken down by order of the Ministry of the Interior. Only with the aid of the police and a hostile coalition was this commune defeated in 1912, despite an increase in the vote for the left-wing socialists. "Setting up the Samokov Commune", said Georgi Dimitrov in 1945, "was the first independent democratic victory of the workers and the working people in Bulgaria and in the Balkan Peninsula, and the first practical attempt of the working people to govern themselves in the name of their own interests, against the blood-suckers, *chorbadjis* and capitalists."

The affairs of Macedonia had a strong influence on Bulgarian politics. The Danev cabinet, for example, fell in 1903, largely because of its hostility to the bands in Macedonia. There had been a secret treaty in existence between Bulgaria and Serbia since 1904 but it was only after the fall of the Malinov government in 1911 and the coming into office of a coalition government of the Nationalists led by Geshov and the Russophil "Progressists" under Danev that the Assembly voted to give the Tsar power to conclude treaties without laying them before the Assembly, and Geshov and the Serb Premier Milovanovic came to a real agreement which left to the Tsar of Russia the final partition of Macedonia. The Bulgarian position in general was for an autonomous Macedonia which it expected to influence while the Serbs would have had it divided into three zones, one for themselves, one for

Bulgaria, and one which would be contested between them and which the Tsar would operate. The scheme that was finally adopted and embodied in a secret treaty signed in March 1912\* divided Macedonia into two parts, the larger of which was to go to Bulgaria while the fate of the other was to be arbitrated by the Tsar of Russia. The Greek Treaty was first negotiated in Athens between Venizelov and Bouchier and was so secret that not even the Cabinets of the two countries were told of it. Finally in May 1912 the two countries signed a defensive alliance against Turkey. There was a verbal agreement with Montenegro.

So the stage was set. The act for which it was set was precipitated by the fall of the Young Turk Cabinet in 1912, the rising which broke out in Albania, a massacre of Bulgarians in North Macedonia, and the holding of manoeuvres by Turkey in Thrace on the Bulgarian frontier. Then, on 8 October, Montenegro declared war on Turkey and advanced to Scutari. Turkey declared war on Serbia and Bulgaria on 17 October, and the next day Greece declared war on Turkey.

Turkey had already been weakened by her war with Italy and to the general surprise the Balkan States began to be victorious. They all took the offensive from the beginning, and Turkey's sudden armistice with Italy and switching of troops did not have the effect it was expected to have. Bulgaria was opposed in Thrace by some 180,000 Turkish troops and approximately the same number were used against Serbia in Macedonia. The Bulgarian campaign began with the seizure of the frontier town of Mustafa Pasha on 14 October. On 24 October a further victory was secured at Kirk Killisse. A major battle then took place from 28 October to 2 November at Lule-Burgas in which Bulgaria was again victorious and by the middle of November the Turks had been defeated by Serbia in Macedonia and by Bulgaria in Thrace, although they were still entrenched in heavily fortified lines at Chataldja† and were also besieged in Adrianople. On 3 December an armistice was signed, and thereafter peace negotiations began in London. The negotiations led to no result and on 3 February 1913, the war recommenced. The Bulgarians returned to their attack on Adrianople, this time assisted by two divisions of Serbs and some heavy

\* It included a clause which said: "Serbia recognises the right of Bulgaria to the territory to the East of Rhodope and the River Struma; Bulgaria recognises the right of Serbia to that situated to the north and west of the Char-Planina (The Char Mountain)". It was known to the British Minister but was regarded as so secret that he kept Sir Arthur Nicolson informed by letters which were not allowed to go into the Foreign Office and which were shown only to Earl Grey and the King.

† The abortive attempt to take Chataldja was defeated by cholera more than by anything else.

siege artillery and on 26 March the city surrendered. The result of this and other Turkish defeats was the restoration of the peace discussions in the Conference of London which laid down a new Bulgarian-Turkish frontier along the "Enos-Midia Line" which was drawn between these two towns, the one on the Aegean and the other on the Black Sea. The treaty was not destined to become effective.

If agreement at this stage had become possible in London between the combatants, agreement between the allies on the spot was much more difficult and with the spoils in front of it the Balkan League rapidly disintegrated. Greece insisted on a major share of Macedonia. Serbia, which had been compelled to withdraw from the Adriatic by Austria and which was now permanently frustrated by the creation of Albania, became insistent on the retention of Macedonia including the key Vardar railway. The result was that in May 1913 a military convention was concluded between Greece and Serbia and the Balkan League dissolved. On 30 June a deluded King Ferdinand of Bulgaria attacked the Serb Army in Macedonia. The result was a heavy defeat and the opening of a flank so that the Turks were enabled to take up arms again and reoccupy Adrianople. At that stage Rumania joined in the game and began to march on Sofia. Bulgaria was totally defeated and had to sue for peace.

The outcome was the Treaty of Bucharest of 10 August 1913. Rumania had already pressed her claim to the Dobrudja earlier in the year and a protocol relating to the Bulgaro-Rumanian frontier in that area had already been signed on 9 May in St. Petersburg. The Dobrudja, the quadrilateral of territory between the Lower Danube and the Black Sea, had been in dispute for centuries. It was first conquered by the Bulgarians when they crossed the Danube in the seventh century and was theirs from 679 to 971. It was then Byzantine till 1186 when it again became Bulgarian. In 1387 it was taken over by Wallachia (the basis of the Rumanian claim) and in 1393 was Bulgarian. It was conquered by the Turks about the year 1400 and its fate was then merged into that of all the conquered territories. There was some degree of Bulgarian revival in the Dobrudja at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in 1811 a Bulgarian school was opened in Toultscha. In 1876 the Conference of Constantinople declared it to be Bulgarian and till 1878 the Orthodox of the Dobrudja were under the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian Exarchate. The Rumanians occupied the north of the area in 1878 and the south in 1913. The Treaty of Bucharest, however, which was signed on 28 July 1913, between Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, Rumania, and Serbia, gave some of it to Bulgaria, although



it modified the former Bulgaro-Rumanian frontier between the Danube and the Black Sea in favour of Rumania and ordered Bulgaria to demolish its fortifications. It also revised Bulgaria's frontiers with Serbia and Greece and compelled Bulgaria to abandon its pretensions to Thasos. Bulgaria was to be put on a peace-time basis and the demobilisation of the Bulgarian Army. The Treaty of Constantinople of 16(29) September 1913, between Bulgaria and Turkey defined the frontiers in detail. It was an unhappy result. But for all that, before the Balkan wars began Bulgaria had an area of 33,647 square miles and afterwards 43,310; before she had an estimated population of 4,337,516 and after one of 4,467,006.

It is worth noting that throughout this period the deep affection for Bulgaria entertained in certain Liberal circles in Britain which was so strongly expressed in the works of Bouchier, was also shown in the works of a number of other people, and notably Noel Buxton, who formed a Balkan Committee in London. Noel Buxton was one of those figures who have appeared not infrequently in British public life, springing from rich families, imbued with a religious sense of public duty and possessed of great personal courage and prepared to challenge all things—up to a point. His physical courage and sense of proportion were well shown in his discussion with the Turk who tried to assassinate him in Sofia in 1914, which was entirely devoid of any malice or even sense of personality.

Born in 1869 into a world of privilege and Quakers, educated at Harrow and Trinity (Cambridge), trained in business at the family brewery, plunged into social work by the Christian Social Union, it was as a Liberal that Noel Buxton stood for Ipswich in 1900, just as it was as a Liberal on holiday that, almost by chance, he made his first visit to the Balkans in 1899. It was made on horseback through Macedonia and Serbia and led to his playing the leading part in the formation of the Balkan Committee in London. Almost as soon as it had been formed there came the Macedonian rising of 1903 and its savage suppression, and in 1904, Buxton and his sister went there to give help to the destitute and report on conditions. What they saw so stirred them that they produced a penny pamphlet on "Macedonian Massacres" composed mainly of photographs of Turkish atrocities and including the warning that "general chaos enables the Sultan's agents to stir up bloodshed even among European peoples", and the result was the formation of the Macedonian Relief Committee.

Having abandoned the brewery in 1904 it was as the rising hope of

the anti-Turkish Liberals of the Balkan Committee that he became a Member of Parliament for Whitby in 1905, when he immediately began to battle for Balkan liberation from the Turks, as the head of an able band of men not least among which was Bouchier. Buxton lost his seat in 1906 and so, having the time to write, was able to produce a book, which is unnoticed in his biography, called *Europe and the Turks* which summed up the position of the Balkan Committee and saw the Turk as "an interloper in Europe". The next year was the time of the "Young Turk" *coup d'état*, and with his brother Charles, Noel dashed off to see what difference it had made, talked to Turks and newspaper men, accepted the Young Turk promises of "a new order" in Armenia and Kurdistan, told the Macedonians and Bulgarians to behave, and proceeded to lead a Balkan Committee Deputation to the Young Turks. Then he returned home to be elected for North Norfolk in 1910 and became preoccupied with "the possibility of directing Germany's ambitions into peaceful channels". This episode included a visit to Berlin and support for Germany's colonial claims.

1911 brought the end of the Balkan Committee's flirtation with the Young Turks and it now attacked Turkey's misrule in Macedonia and Albania and when the Balkan War came in 1912, accompanied this time by his clerical brother, Harold, Buxton went out to do relief work and ended up attached to the Bulgarian General Staff and so had his part in the Bulgarian triumph against the Turk. Almost immediately he saw it thrown away by the petty quarrels of the Balkan nationalists he had done so much to support.

His Young Turk friends were now behaving worse than ever and the time seemed ripe to test this behaviour in Armenia, so off he went, in 1913, again with Harold, to Russia, Armenia, and Kurdistan. On their return in *Travel and Politics in Armenia* (1914) they strongly condemned Turkish behaviour, particularly in arming the Kurds with modern rifles. But any idea of help for Armenia was soon eclipsed by war, and in September 1914, accompanied by Charles Roden Buxton, he was sent off to the Balkans by Lloyd George and Winston Churchill to recruit for the Entente. The mission was not a success but Buxton continued to work diplomatically for the same ends, holding strongly that Bulgaria should receive the Macedonian territory promised in the Serbo-Bulgar Treaty of 1912. In addition to this he gave support to the idea of a negotiated peace, to the Kerensky revolution in Russia, and to Wilson's fourteen points. His Balkan policy was continued in a book published jointly with Coleman Phillips in 1917 (*The*

*Question of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles*), which is also unnoticed in his biography, in which he advocated the opening of the Straits to all under an international Commission, a similar treatment for the Danube, and the establishment of Constantinople as a free city under "the conjoined protection of the Powers".

When the Peace Conference was in session, Buxton joined the Labour Party and brought what pressure he could on the Conference. His book (with C. L. Leese) *Balkan Problems and European Peace* (1919) advocated self-determination within the Balkans, opposed the "punishment" of Bulgaria, and stood for the granting of Cyprus to Greece, plebiscites in the Dobrudja and Macedonia, and the granting of a large part of Thrace to Bulgaria. Messages were sent to Balfour on Macedonia and Albania; he went to Paris and lobbied himself, he supported Sévres for its Bulgarian clauses and he wrote in the *Daily Herald* on a Mandate for Armenia. Later, in 1922, with T. P. Carvil-Evans he attacked the peace settlement in *Oppressed Peoples and the League of Nations*. He also opposed the Lausanne Conference in 1923 and visited Bulgaria once again in 1934 to survey both Macedonia and the work of the Save the Children Fund. His Balkan Committee closed down in 1950 having nothing to say in the new situation and no longer having any contacts in the Balkans.

### *The First World War*

The First World War began in the Balkans, in Serbia, but it began at a time when Bulgaria was too heavily overwhelmed by its recent defeat to do anything but watch. The Bulgarian Government declared its neutrality. Ferdinand was now served by a group of men most of whom were known to have been criminally corrupt when previously in office and some of them even to have been officially condemned for their offences. Ferdinand himself was savagely anti-Russian and anti-Semitic and shared the view of his Prime Minister, Dr. Vassil Radoslavov, who wrote to him, "We think to-day, as we thought then, that the salvation of our State can only be found in a policy of intimate friendship with Austria-Hungary." The Government did not have the support of the country and failed to get a majority in the election of 5 December 1913, whereupon the opposition refused to pass the budget and the Chamber was dissolved. A further election followed in March 1914, in which, despite a wholly illegal pressure being brought to bear upon the electorate, the Government was again defeated. This time the votes were as follows:

Liberal Coalition (Radoslavov, Tonchev and Stambolovists)	345,588
Agrarians	170,000
Democrats	86,676
Social Democrats	45,247
Left Socialists	43,273
Nationalists	39,035
Radicals	27,364
Danevists	23,298
Others	6,081

The terrorism at the election included the kidnapping of opposition candidates and the annulment of elections, as in Gornu-Djumaya where the electors voted solidly for the opposition. The result of these tactics, however, was simply a majority of ten but of this majority twelve were Moslem members of the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress and they, therefore, secured the power to decide between the Government and the opposition. The Government's reaction to this was the appointment of a military League, under General Lukov, to make it possible to suppress the opposition, which, however, was never sufficiently united to render this necessary.

It need hardly be said that the financial position of the Government was far from sound and it found it necessary to seek for a loan of 500,000,000 francs, which Germany was only too willing to provide and the union with Austrian and German policy became ever closer. Tsanov, the Radical leader, opposed the loan but with no success. The loan went a long way to secure Bulgarian allegiance to Germany in the war. It also secured for the German syndicate control of Bulgarian State coal-mines, the railway to the Aegean and to the terminal port which was to be built.

When the First World War broke out the opposition insisted on neutrality and the Government was attacked for uttering threats against Serbia. Alexander Stamboliski, the Agrarian leader, denounced the Government for having bound itself, even at this early stage, to the Central Powers and that it had done so was soon made manifest when it forbade the choir of Sofia Cathedral to sing in the private chapel of the Russian Embassy where prayers were being offered for a Russian victory. The great outcry which followed this event in Sofia demonstrated that the mass of the people had no desire to be split away from their great Slav neighbour.

A secret agreement was made at this time (August 1914) with Turkey and immediately afterwards the Government demanded the voting of credits which would make possible the mobilisation of the army.

German belligerents and war material were allowed to pass freely through the country to Constantinople and the Government organised a "National League" to inflame opinion against Russia, prohibiting all public meetings except those of the League. Clearly and deliberately it prepared for war. The opposition leaders were denounced as traitors and all negotiations with the Entente were refused. In this situation Stamboliski's line was to call for a coalition government and only the Left socialists had a completely clear anti-war policy. Even the Macedonian organisation, concerned primarily with creating a war against Serbia, became pro-German, while within Bulgaria the Nationalist agitation for the invasion of Macedonia grew.

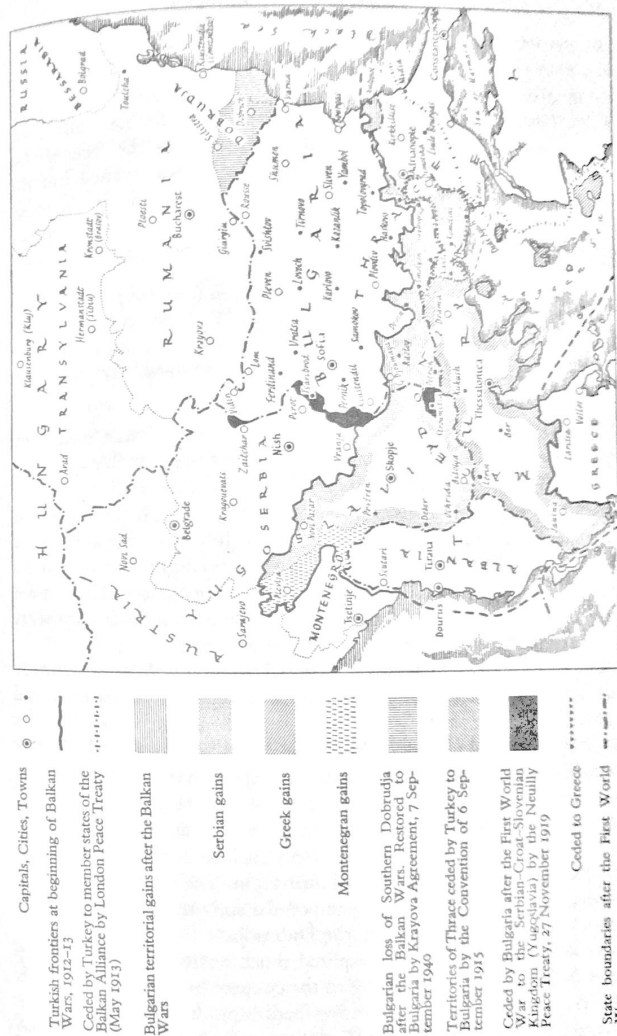
A sedulous attempt was made by Russia, France, and Great Britain to keep Bulgaria out of the war on the Austrian and German side and as the price of neutrality she was offered Thrace, as far south as the line Enos-Media and parts of Macedonia. As the price of attacking Turkey she was offered more, including the Southern Dobrudja. By June 1915 these offers were outbid by an Austrian offer which included the whole of Serbian Macedonia as well as sundry items from Greece and Rumania. On 6 September 1915, Bulgaria signed a treaty with the Central Powers, which promised her Serbian Macedonia and the whole of Serbia up to the Morava in return for playing an active part in the invasion of Serbia. Already, on 17 July, Turkey had transferred to Bulgaria disputed territory taking her boundary to the Maritsa. On 7 October, the Bulgarian Army advanced into Serbia.

So began a further essay in disaster. Once more the Bulgarian people were compelled to suffer for the ineptitude of their leaders. The leaders of the opposition, while suspecting the policy of the Government, lacked the firmness of will to take any decisive steps against it and Social-Democrats and Agrarians combined to plead for a Balkan Alliance and more agitation against the Government. Naitso Tzanov, the Radical leader was at least clear about one thing and he declared:

You wish to entangle Bulgaria in a war against her liberator. This you cannot do, for it is against our Country's real interests and our secular traditions. If such an act is committed it will have the most terrible consequences, for it will inevitably entail the definite destruction of Bulgaria.

Stamboliski spoke in the same vein. But eventually all these political leaders gave way and when in the face of mobilisation for war the 27th Infantry Regiment mutinied, while it received some working class support, it was left by the opposition leaders to its brutal fate.

Bulgaria put two armies into the field against Serbia amounting to



8. BULGARIA AFTER THE WARS



180,000 men, later going up to 240,000 men. At first the campaign was overwhelmingly successful and the Serbian troops were everywhere driven back. The Greek frontier was reached and Pirot, Vranja, Veles, Nish, and other towns were taken. 50,000 Serbians and 1200 British and French troops were taken prisoner. In the face of this apparent victory the Opposition opposition to war waned but the attitude of the people was different as continued mutinies in the army testified. They were, however, quietened down by the Social Democrats whose journal (*Narod*) declared on 10 October 1915:

Any effort to divert the 600,000 mobilised men from the path traced for them by the Government would be harmful. We hope, and believe, that such an attempt will not be made; for, when a nation is going to join issue with others in fateful decisions, none of its members should dare to weaken its unity.

So there was but little opposition to the voting of war credits on 15 December, and the only people who stood firm on this question, so fundamental to Bulgaria's future, were the Communists and the small Agrarian group associated with M. Draghiev. However, by the time the need came for a further budget in July 1916 the support of the Government had manifestly dwindled in the light of events and a revolt of the deputies took place, led by the opposition. They voted against the Government, imprisonment followed, and their seats were taken by people whose votes could be relied upon.

On 27 August 1916, Rumania declared war upon Austro-Hungary and by so doing opened the question as to whether Bulgaria would extend her belligerency. Rumanian troops soon concentrated in the Dobrudja and Radoslavov declared war against Rumania and in a few months succeeded in occupying the Dobrudja with troops commanded by the German Von Mackensen. The Bulgarians then crossed the Danube (25 November 1916) to march on Bucharest. Bucharest fell on 6 December, one Bulgarian division remained north of the Danube and the rest returned to the Macedonian front. The retention of troops north of the Danube was gravely unpopular and one division mutinied when ordered to go there from the Dobrudja.

At this stage Bulgaria had acquired much territory, but it was insecurely held and the plundering of the country by German overlords and crop failures led to increasing hardships. In this situation the corruption of the Radoslavov Government, its total subservience to Germany and the mounting unrest, led to the downfall of the Government. It was denounced by the Radical leader, Tsanov, in these words:

When we voted the second war credit we told you that Bulgaria had nothing to seek across the Danube, and that our troops should not cross it. You, however, owing to your abject subservience to the Germans, have not heeded us, and our Army has not only crossed the Danube, but it has reached the Seret, and no one knows where it will stop. By allowing this to take place you have converted Bulgaria into a mercenary camp, and forced her to participate in the solution of aims foreign to her.

You have declared war for the realisation of our national unity,\* but you now seek the conquest of foreign territories, regardless of the wishes of their inhabitants. In the name of this policy of conquest you have committed a series of indefensible brutalities, thereby sowing the seed of perpetual disturbances and conflicts among the Balkan peoples. Can you believe that, lying between Germans and Turks, even though they be allies, we can secure for our Country a free and peaceful development while we foster against us the undying hatred of our neighbours? Are we to live eternally with a knife in our hand? And is not this lust for foreign territories going to compromise our existence? And after all, even if you decide to incorporate foreign Countries into Bulgaria, cannot some more humane and cultural administrative methods be devised to attach them to us, other than by exiling their inhabitants to Asia Minor?

You who have implanted and protected this unexampled corruption and turpitude in administration, who have deprived Bulgarian citizens of their constitutional rights, who protect yourselves by courts-martial, and who, through the censorship of the Press—prevent the publication of the speeches of deputies and of internal correspondence. . . . You, who in short have brought Bulgaria to an impasse, have no right to ask us to vote. . . .

Bulgaria was in revolt against its Government. Germany, too, was cooling in its affection for Radoslavov and refused to accept his claim to the whole of the Dobrudja, instigating, indeed, a counter claim of the Turks who also, in May 1917, demanded the return of the Maritsa territory. At the same time Bulgarian radicals negotiated with the Entente. In the winter of 1917-18 there was serious starvation; the Russian revolution deeply encouraged the workers and peasants in their opposition to the Government and in the meantime the country passed almost completely into the hands of Germany. The Government existed to do little more than accept bribes. Then Germany, turning to a pro-Greek policy, cut off supplies of money and securities. The Government could no longer govern! So it fell.

What Ferdinand feared above all else at this juncture was that Bulgaria should follow the Russian example. But there was a limit to his capacity to compromise and the new Government was headed by

\* The mistake of the Radicals was to have accepted this plan.

the Democrat leader Alexander Malinov (21 June 1918), who was regarded as trustworthy both by Ferdinand and Berlin despite all his speeches. Further, there was no new election and Malinov was surrounded by a packed chamber. What he could not, however, avoid was the persistent clamour of the army for peace and in this extreme situation Berlin, which was withdrawing its forces from Macedonia, sent to Sofia the Kings of Bavaria and Saxony. This did little, however, to succour a collapsing front and the next step was to release a number of political prisoners including Stamboliski who joined Todorov's coalition government after the conclusion of the war.

The situation was explosive and Stamboliski's colleague, Daskalov, visiting the front just at a time when it was broken, proclaimed a Republic with himself as President. On 18 September, the French, British, Serbian, and Greek troops had broken through at Dobro Polye and the beginning of the end was near. The Bulgarian troops retreated in a revolutionary mood, destroyed the headquarters at Kustendil and on 27 September, proclaimed a Republic at Radomir. Two days later they took the town of Vladaja near Sofia and began to march on the capital. It was at that point that an armistice was declared and the Bulgarian soldiers were defeated with the aid of German troops. Bulgaria was then at once occupied by British and French troops who gave their fullest support to the Bulgarian ruling class in its effort to suppress the revolution which was threatening to overwhelm it.

The move was opposed by the Agrarians and not supported by the Socialists and Communists and, despite a mutiny, Stamboliski disavowed his soldier supporters and returned to Ferdinand's cabinet. On 29 September an armistice was proclaimed at Salonica\* and, at the request of the Cabinet who saw no other alternative to revolution, on 4 October Ferdinand abdicated and was replaced by his son, Boris.

A Treaty of Peace was signed between Russia and Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, at Brest Litovsk on 3 March 1918. It provided for the release of prisoners and for the resumption of diplomatic relations following ratification. Economic relations were re-established and political and general relations established with Russia. Britain, France, and Italy protested against the whole of these transactions.

The Government now was quite unable to organise the country and completely defeated by the food situation: it governed only by the fear of invasion by Greece and Serbia. The Rumanians were

\* It was the first breach in the front of the Central Powers.

installed in Southern Dobrudja contrary to the armistice agreement and on this Malinov resigned to be followed, on 28 November 1918, by a Coalition Ministry under Todorov whose main work was to prepare the rigging of the next election. The biggest of the parties now was the Agrarians led by Stamboliski and Draghiev, but they were severely split among themselves; the Social Democrats were quite unable to rise to the situation. When, therefore, elections were held on 17 August 1919, the 236 seats in the Chamber were distributed as follows:

	198,444 VOTES
Agrarians 86	118,671 "
Communists 47	82,826 "
Social-Democrats 38	65,267 "
Democrats (Malinov) 28	54,536 "
Nationalists (Geshov) 19	36,566 "
Danevists 8	33,343 "
Radicals 8	42,024 "
Radoslavovists 3	8,462 "
Various	

It will be seen that the Communists were by now the second largest party in the country and had gained the lead of the working class. Their influence in the army was considerable. However, an Agrarian Government was formed which gained the support of the Geshov and Danev parties but still lacked a majority. Its chief work was the ratification of the Treaty of Neuilly. Peace was made with Bulgaria by this treaty, which was signed on 27 November 1919 and ratified on 9 August 1920. It was savage in its injustice and took something like a third of the Bulgarian people from Bulgaria. Macedonia was removed from Bulgaria and her outlet to the Aegean was stopped; the Southern Dobrudja was also taken from her as well as a large part of Western Bulgaria. In the Dobrudja, Bulgarian churches and schools were at once closed as they were also in Macedonia; Bulgarian books and newspapers were prohibited, and the people were deprived of the use of their own language. A tract of territory including Tsaribrod in South-west Bulgaria was handed over to Serbia. So Bulgaria lost her richest tract of territory, the tobacco-growing district on the Aegean coast and her best wheat-bearing zone in the Dobrudja. She was also supposed to produce an indemnity of two-and-a-quarter billion gold francs and permitted to have an army of only 2000 men. An Air Force was prohibited. An International Reparations Committee (of the victorious powers) was given charge of Bulgaria's entire economic system in order to see that these conditions were fulfilled.

The treaty may well be summed up in the words of British spokesmen at that time. "Its territorial provisions", said Bouchier, were "punitive." Its "worst blot" was its failure to deal with the Macedonian question. It violated the principle of self-determination. "It did not", said Lord Bryce,\* "reflect the will of the British people. It was vindictive and contrary to the principle of self-determination." In the House of Commons Colonel Malone said that it "violates the principle of self-determination and contains the seeds of future wars". And to all this was added the postscript of Colonel Wedgewood: "If one could give the people of the Balkans any sort of advice it would be to pack the whole of the Kings off at once, get rid of them, and start some sort of republican organisation which would not allow the people perpetually to be dragged into war through the vanity and ambition of their rulers."

In fact, the conditions could not be fulfilled. Shorn of so much territory Bulgaria could not possibly fulfil the indemnity. Her total wealth was estimated to be 10,500,000,000 leva in 1911. After the war it was considerably less and her productive capacity was diminished by the loss of 150,000 killed and 200,000 maimed. From the beginning of the Balkan wars to the end of the First World War she lost approximately one-third of her manpower between the ages of twenty and fifty. Yet she had a public debt after the war of between 30,000,000,000 and 35,000,000,000 leva and could not possibly pay the reparations that were required of her.

### *Between the Wars*

The general situation of the country after the war was appalling. No real steps were taken to control prices and the effect was to drive large numbers of the town workers to real starvation. The cost of articles of necessity, if taken as 100 in 1914, was 1754 in 1919 and 2577 in January 1920. In these circumstances the leadership of the people was taken by the Communist Party, as the Left Socialists became in May 1919, and in the summer and winter of that year there took place the biggest wave of strikes that Bulgaria had ever known leading up to the strike of the railway workers and telegraph workers. Stamboliski fought the workers, tried to run trains with troops and even went to the length of arming peasants against the workers. Even so the transport system of the country was paralysed for two months. After the strike was defeated there was a General Election (28 March 1920) at which,

\* House of Lords, 23 April 1920.

despite gross intimidation\* it was still necessary for the Government to invalidate the election of thirteen opposition deputies in order to get any kind of majority at all. The Peasant Party, in fact, got 38 per cent of the votes and formed another Government under Stamboliski. †

Mass pressure did at this stage compel the passing of a land reform law confiscating land over 30 hectares for redistribution to the landless peasants who, at the beginning of 1923, were still between 27 per cent and 28 per cent of the total. Nevertheless, the Agrarians were too preoccupied with keeping the Left out of office to be able to deal with the real situation which was revealed when on 9 June 1923 a fascist *coup d'état* overthrew Stamboliski, who was murdered on 14 June, and put Alexander Tsankov into power. This was possible because of the tragic error of the Communist Party of taking a position of neutrality between the Agrarians and Tsankov, a position for which they were to pay dearly. Soon the new Government began an open offensive against the working class and the Communist Party, to which the Communist Party replied by setting up a revolutionary military committee led by Vasil Kolarov and G. Dimitrov and launching a rising which was unsuccessful. The rising began on 23 September 1923, in the north-west of the country, particularly in Mikhailovgrad, Lone, and Berkovitsa, in all of which places the workers seized power and were joined by considerable numbers of soldiers. After three days of fighting the insurgents held nearly the whole of Vratsa County and most of the district of Lone where their forces were led by the priest Andrew of the village of Metkovetz, who achieved an almost legendary fame. Risings took place also at Stara and Nova Zagora as well as in the districts of Ikhtiman, Dolna-Banya, Razlog, and Pirin Macedonia. The suppression of the rising that followed was one of the most savage things in Bulgarian history. Fascist bands were then let loose against the people and it is estimated that before long 20,000 people had been murdered.

\* The Minister of the Interior said in the Chamber: "We beat and shall beat, we imprison and shall imprison."

† The results of the election were:

Agrarians	346,949
Communists	181,525
Democrats	97,581
Nationalists	60,992
Radoslavov	57,096
Social-Democrats	53,017
Danevists	52,722
Radicals	41,770
Total votes	891,652



The condition of fascism had very largely been imposed upon Bulgaria by the Allied Powers who had crippled her economically while taking good care that her people did not take their fate into their own hands. The Budget estimates for 1921-2 showed a deficit of over £11 million and those of 1922-3 a deficit of £3½ million. Nevertheless, when the Bulgarian Government asked for a moratorium on war debts the reply of the Inter-Allied Commission was that it could only be granted on the condition of the Bulgarian surrender of the control of her own customs, coal mines, and financial system. Against this the Bulgarian delegation appealed at the International Economic Conference at Genoa in 1922 but without effect. Bulgaria then turned to the Lausanne Conference of December 1922 to February 1923, appealing for an economic outlet to the Aegean,\* but was offered only the kind of concession which was not of the slightest help. Eventually reparations were scaled down and made payable over a period of sixty years.

The smallness and the balance of Bulgaria's economy may be seen from the following tables of trade with principal countries giving the total value of merchandise in thousands of leva.

## EXPORTS

Country	1906	1907	1910	1911	1919	1920
U. Kingdom	14,985	20,706	15,315	24,237	21,273	52,623
Austria	8,200	8,023	7,828	10,567	17,605	149,775
Belgium	20,142	25,976	20,944	53,790	140	132,276
France	8,977	6,991	9,039	11,119	21,401	100,091
Germany	15,410	17,022	14,218	22,912	20,913	171,277
Greece	9,721	8,019	6,340	12,650	30,953	6,686
Italy	3,906	3,100	1,818	3,948	—	—
Rumania	1,121	923	869	1,246	12,422	30,618
Russia	306	249	301	336	—	—
Serbia	584	348	404	614	—	—
Turkey	21,699	27,283	44,283	29,210	64,046	78,914
U.S.A.	1,378	1,264	1,117	1,167	184,800	142,216
Other Countries	8,150	4,697	6,576	12,838	—	—
Total in thousands of Leva	114,579	124,601	129,052	201,568	375,553	864,476
Thousands £s	4,583	5,024	5,162	7,385		

\* Clause 48 of the treaty of Neuilly had promised this.

## IMPORTS

Country	1906	1907	1910	1911	1919	1920
U. Kingdom	19,600	21,424	22,682	30,034	104,849	311,207
Austria	27,802	34,688	47,371	48,216	194	65,850
Belgium	3,078	4,253	8,507	5,047	3	33,924
France	5,373	6,593	15,348	24,927	5,779	197,851
Germany	16,225	19,660	34,120	39,837	302	125,942
Greece	224	389	421	488	53,341	55,748
Italy	5,543	5,506	6,843	9,118	345,893	624,697
Rumania	3,365	3,633	6,572	8,724	—	—
Russia	4,694	4,771	6,865	6,975	—	—
Serbia	1,408	2,065	2,270	1,751	—	—
Turkey	18,052	17,548	21,024	15,968	146,995	408,466
U.S.A.	—	—	—	—	195,111	130,283
Other Countries	3,155	4,140	5,134	8,242	—	—
Total in thousands of Leva	108,519	124,670	177,157	199,327		
Thousands £s	4,339	4,986	7,094	7,974		

The advent to power of fascism in Bulgaria brought to an end a long period of struggle—as it also inaugurated another. The period that came to an end was epitomised in the life of Christo Smimensky who showed a union of culture and struggle in his own person that has been characteristic of the modern life of the Bulgarian people. This outstanding man, described by Dimitrov as “our Bulgarian Mayakovsky”, was born in Macedonia in 1898 and grew up in the atmosphere of struggle against the Turks and in particular against the background of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation to which his father belonged. He was driven from his home town of Kukush by the Second Balkan War and soon began contributing to newspapers in Sofia.

In 1920 he joined the Young Communist League and for the rest of his life found various ways of working for a living, wrote ceaselessly and served the Bulgarian Communist Party. He died of consumption, a victim of poverty, in 1923. His spirit is demonstrated in one among his many poems in which he wrote of “the red squadrons” and said:

May in terror, may in fright, crumble all that blocked the light!  
 May the world's injustices and the sobbing cease and die!  
 May the laws of hatred, greed, every grievance, every need,  
 By the gates, now open wide, crushed and dead for ever lie!

The same period saw the death of the first real leader of the Bulgarian working class, Dimitar Blagoev, who led the Left Socialists until the very eve of the September rising. He was born in 1856 and started his career as a boy in the ranks of the nationalist movement against the Turks. After 1878 he went to school in Odessa and then to the University of St. Petersburg where he read Marx's *Capital* and was converted by it. He started a Marxist group there in 1883, perhaps the first in Russia, and was deported for it in 1885, and then began at once his leadership of the Bulgarian movement to which reference has already been made. He was a strong opponent of the First World War during which he took a consistent internationalist position and worked throughout for peace. In 1917 he greeted the Russian Revolution and, led by him, the Bulgarian Workers' Social Democratic Party (Left-wing socialists) was one of the first groups to respond to Lenin's appeal for the establishment of a Communist International. It was renamed the Bulgarian Communist Party. For all this, the party did not always reflect the kind of policy for which Lenin stood, and the two outstanding mistakes of its history, and of Blagoev's life, were the failure to support the soldiers' rebellion in 1918 and the position of neutrality during the fascist seizure of power in 1923. In September 1923 Blagoev was too ill to take an active part in the rising and the following year he died. His works included *Contribution to the History of Socialism in Bulgaria*, *Bulgaria's Economic Development, Industry or Agriculture*, and *On Marxism*.

According to Dimitrov it was the 1923 September uprising which transformed the Communist Party which was destined to play so decisive a part in Bulgarian history. It emerged from its isolation to give leadership to all the anti-fascist forces both in town and country and concluded an agreement for common struggle with the Agrarian Union and tried to do the same with IMRO. An illegal conference was held on the Vitosha mountain in April 1924, and it surveyed the scene and faced the new struggles against fascism firmly and with determination. Nevertheless, it was still capable of astonishing aberrations, as the attempt to blow up the Sofia Cathedral on 16 April 1925, demonstrated.

It is important at this stage to any understanding of Bulgarian history to realise that at no time between the world wars—or before the First World War, was Bulgaria's economy in any way satisfactory. The result of this was that the Bulgarian ruling class was in a constant state of crisis, seeking one desperate expedient after the other, and the mass of the people were in a constant state of incipient revolt.

Information presented to the Reparations Commission in 1923 shows the value of the lev as follows in terms of Swiss centimes:

31st December 1911	31st December 1914	31st December 1918	31st December 1919	31st December 1920
100	88	44	13	7
31st December 1921	30th September 1922			
3·7	3·26			

Foreign trade, as has already been noted, tells the same story. The budget deficit is even more revealing:

Year	Receipts	Payments In millions of leva	Deficit
1911	199	213	14
1914	225	419	195
1918	567	1560	993
1919/20	844	1517	673
1920/21	2006	3233	1227
1921/22	2844	4380	1532

Inevitably the value of the lev declined. In gold francs it was:

31st December 1911	31st December 1914	31st December 1918	31st December 1919	31st December 1920
0·99	0·88	0·44	0·13	0·7
31st December 1921	31st December 1922			
0·036	0·032			

The Government was compelled, in the face of all this, to protest to the Inter-Allied Commission. Nevertheless, it was compelled to hand over war material to the Russian generals Denikin and Wrangel, who were waging a civil war against their own people, and to the anti-Soviet states of Georgia and Ukraine to the value of 633,211,117 gold francs. The total payments it had to make were in the region of 5,000,000,000 gold francs.

The country was still overwhelmingly agricultural and with a population of something over 4,000,000 people there had been no great change from the situation of 1910 which showed 75·4 per cent engaged in agriculture, 16·4 per cent in industry, communications and

commerce, 5.9 per cent in administration and the professions, and 23 per cent elsewhere. The distribution of worked land, divided into 933,367 properties, was:

up to 20 decares*	424,898	45.5%
20-100 "	386,728	41.4%
100-300 "	111,632	12%
300-1000 "	9,173	0.98%
1000+ "	936	0.11%

Industrial production achieved between 120,000,000 and 130,000,000 leva and was accounted for as follows:

	Establishment	Capital in million levas	Workers	Production in million levas
Mining	6	4.4	1,862	4,504
Metallurgy	29	7.1	2,314	6,466
Ceramics	16	6.4	1,281	4,716
Chemicals	27	3.4	655	4,171
Food	146	36.6	3,126	68,407
Textiles	72	15.9	4,267	21,415
Wood	18	4.4	1,265	3,020
Leather	24	2.8	421	5,426
Paper	4	1.6	194	920
Electrical Engineering	3	8.6	504	4,478

Average exports from 1906 to 1910 in millions of leva were:

Cereals	76,354
Minerals	6,701
Animal Foods	13,001
Essence of Roses	4,881
Animal hides	4,191
Textiles	8,093
Tobacco	1,615
The rest	3,771

In 1911 there were 4,225 miles of roads under the control of the State and 578 miles under the control of local government. There were 196 railway locomotives and two ports, Varna and Bourgas. It was an economy that needed desperately to be raised, but that was before the destruction of the two Balkan wars and before the greater

\* A decare is approximately a quarter of an acre.

destruction of the First World War and also before the dismemberment of the country and the burden of reparations. This desperate economic situation was never solved between the two world wars as is well illustrated by the situation on 31 December 1931. On that date the budget receipts were:

	Leva
Ordinary budget and incorporated funds	4,043,135,773
Extra budgetary receipts	72,403,756
Railways and Ports	964,824,066
	5,080,363,595

Behind this stood a deficit of 1,485,210,634 leva. Yet for January 1932, the court budget for the whole country was:

Personal	1,500,000
Supplies	1,000,000

Supplies for the entire work of the Ministry of Education were only 3,860,000.

The Dobrudja, which was lost in 1913, had been a principal centre of the country's cereal production, Thrace, which was cut off in 1919, of tobacco. In the new circumstances there was no considerable increase in productivity. Figures of wheat in kilograms\* per hectare were as follows:

1919	970
1920	920
1921	880
1922	950
1923	850
1924	660
1925	1090
1926	940

Exports of cereals necessarily declined:

	millions of kilograms
1906	589,429
1910	553,827
1912	684,028
1914	609,169
1922	170,402
1923	228,039
1924	258,818
1925	221,639
1926	228,410

\* 1 kilogram = 2.205 lb.





In 1925 there was something of an alarm when Greek regiments, following a border incident, penetrated six miles into Bulgarian territory in the Struma Valley and bombarded the town of Petrich and the neighbouring villages. They were withdrawn on the orders of the Council of the League of Nations and an enquiry was ordered, as the result of which Greece was held to have committed an act of aggression and Bulgaria was awarded damages of 30,000,000 leva.

The local elections in November 1925, attended with considerable pressure, showed a victory for the Democratic Union. The Tsankov Government, discredited by its reign of terror, fell in January 1926 and was replaced by a Government presided over by A. Liapchev which put up a show of democracy and obtained a majority in the 1927 general election. Out of 273 seats, 173 went to the Democratic Union, eighty-nine to the opposition, and eleven to independents. In the following year a general state of economic disorder compelled the Government to seek a loan through the League and the situation was exacerbated by an earthquake in the Plovdiv Region, which destroyed part of the town and many villages.

At this stage of affairs, the supporters of Stambolov and of D. Kiortchov united into one party at a time when the general difficulties of the country compelled the Government to resign. The Government that succeeded demonstrated a much greater concern with the frontier with Yugoslavia than with the economic condition of the country. The frontier question was duly settled at the beginning of 1930, and when the rural elections were held the Government Party, the Democratic Union, was able to satisfy itself with 62 per cent of the votes. For all that, the Government had to be reconstructed three months later and Tsankov came back into it. It fell in the following year and the National Bloc under Malinov took office. The country by now was in the grip of the world economic crisis, and political crisis followed political crisis as each government failed to find any answer. The answer was sought desperately at a maze of conferences and in 1930 Bulgarian representatives were at a Balkan Conference in Athens in October, an Agrarian Conference in Warsaw in August, another in Bucharest in October, and yet another in Belgrade in November. In December 1931 a major conference was held in Sofia to table the founding of an Agricultural Mortgage Credits Bank. Bulgaria had also been represented in March at a Vienna meeting of the Central European Economic Council. Chief among the conferences, however, was the Second Balkan Conference which was opened in Constantinople in October 1931. The decisions of the conference were to have a

report prepared on a proposed Balkan Pact, to consider measures to implement the peace treaties particularly on minorities questions and to find "means of remedying situations likely to impede the moral disarmament of the Balkan Nations". It was also decided to recommend direct negotiations between the nations concerned to settle outstanding questions, to recommend an annual meeting of Foreign Ministers, and to do all possible to promote the success of the forthcoming Disarmament Conference. The Malinov Government, which was now in power (owing to ill-health Malinov was succeeded by Nicola Moushanov in October), was driven to express the desire for improved relations with its neighbours and to this end arrested a number of prominent Macedonians.

The foreign debt had by now become an intolerable burden and the budget for 1932-3 showed a deficit of 600,000,000 leva (£900,000) which was steadily mounting. Monopoly control of foreign trade was given to the National Bank, the reserves of which were steadily falling. The result was a moratorium under the Reparation Scheme of 50 per cent of debt payments and the foreign bond holders had to begin to be content with a smaller percentage of the exiguous production of the Bulgarian peasants and working class. At home, in a last desperate attempt to save the situation, the National Assembly voted an amnesty law, there was a further split in the "Democratic Union", a scandal caused the resignation of the Minister of Justice, the three Agrarian Ministers resigned and on 28 December the Government fell. A new Government was at once formed by M. Moushanov of precisely the same composition and with the same policy.

When the Third Balkan Conference met in Bucharest in 1932, Bulgaria was represented but her representatives were there essentially to put one point and one point only and that was the necessity of making an agreement about the Bulgarian minorities. This, not surprisingly, was the one subject which the Conference was not prepared to tackle and the upshot was that Bulgaria had walked out of the Conference before the Balkan Pact had been agreed between Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Turkey and when it was finally signed on 9 February 1934, Bulgaria was not a member. This does not mean, of course, that at this time the attitude of Bulgaria towards her neighbours was wholly non-co-operative. She had, for example, been represented in Constantinople in May 1932, where, with Greece and Turkey, she agreed to the establishment of a joint office to advise on the production and marketing of tobacco. She joined in a Balkan Maritime Commission and in various other commissions for economic

and juridical affairs. She was present at the Fourth Balkan Conference in November 1933, which was largely devoted to economic affairs. Despite the disagreements, however, understanding with Yugoslavia grew. Committees were also set up to examine the problems of closer agreement with Greece and Turkey. Some of the questions were solved, others were not.

During 1933 attempts were made to unite the Agrarians so as to make possible a change in Government, but they failed. More and more fear was expressed as to Bulgaria's general economic position, and the result was the visit of the Turkish Prime Minister with a number of his colleagues to Sofia, the creation of a Bulgarian-Yugoslav Friendship Society, the visit of the King and Queen of Yugoslavia to Euxinograd, a meeting on the Danube between Boris and King Carol of Rumania, a visit by Boris and his Queen to Yugoslavia and, in April 1934, of the King and Queen to Yugoslavia. But none of this availed and the fall of the Cabinet on 14 May 1934 led within a few days to a *coup d'état* by a clique of army officers led by Colonel Kimon Georgiev who abolished all pretence at democratic rule and changed the administrative system\* to make impossible any semblance of local self-government.

The chief act of the Government, however, was the suppression of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation, against which the army was employed, a measure dictated by absolute necessity for the making of some agreement with neighbouring states. One of the immediate results was a trade agreement with Yugoslavia and an attempt to extend credit operations by the incorporation of the private banks into a Bulgarian credit bank and the fusion of the Bulgarian Agricultural Bank with the Central Co-operative Bank. Professional organisations, at first of railwaymen and seamen, replaced the trade unions. A second important act was the diplomatic recognition of the U.S.S.R.

It is important to notice that in these years in which the stage was resolutely prepared for world war the Bulgarian scene early took on the new look of the period and assumed a form regarded as suitable by its purblind ruling class for that which lay ahead. Bulgaria was now fascist and among the many victims, headed, of course, by the Communists, was the Macedonian Youth Organisation and the Macedonian Students' Society, both of which were suppressed in January 1935. But while it is true that the stage was so set, the scenery was still in a

\* By reducing the administrative districts from 16 to 7, and the rural communes from 2552 to 800. Town as well as village mayors were now to be appointed and not elected.

shaky condition and internal quarrelling between the soldiers ousted Georgiev, who had republican tendencies, on 22 January 1935. He was replaced by the Minister of War, General Zlatev, most of the ministers remaining the same and the chief difference being that a Professor of Economics (Y. Mollov) was brought in to head the Ministry of National Finance. A few weeks later two more professors were installed to look after Justice and Finance. The real significance of the change was that King Boris had taken the lead of the army officers. The remodelled government succeeded in agreeing a régime for frontier administration and, as part of a general campaign of demagoguery, interned two former prime ministers, Tsankov and Georgiev, and their supporters. The result of this was the resignation of two ministers, the fall of the Government, and the creation of a Government by A. Toshev, a diplomat completely in the power of the Court. The former prime ministers were released, the Bank Boards were changed, and the promoters of the coup of May 1934 were arrested. Again the Cabinet fell and on 23 November a new Government was formed by G. Kiosseivanov.

A bitter and bloody quarrel ensued. Velchev and Stanchev were condemned to execution for high treason, but reprieved, and some of their followers were imprisoned. They had planned to establish a Republic. The Military League was dissolved by the Minister of War and a batch of colonels were put on trial for an attempt to overthrow the Government of Toshev. All this had a basis in fact, but it was a façade—the reality came to the fore when in June 1935 Dr. Schacht descended upon Sofia and German plans for the economic isolation of Bulgaria and the Balkans were considerably advanced. They were advanced even more in 1936 to the alarm and despondency of the Little Entente and of the Balkan Alliance. One of the results was to stimulate Yugoslav desires for Bulgarian friendship and a pact was signed between the two governments on 24 January 1937. Only gradually were relations changed with the other Balkan countries and then only on the background of declining international relations. Eventually a six month's trade agreement with Greece (there had been a fifteen months' break) was signed in January 1938. Then on 31 July, an agreement was signed with Metaxas of Greece which bound both the states of the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria to abstain from the threat of force in their relations with each other and also reversed the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly and of the Lausanne Convention concerning the demilitarisation of Thrace. Thus was Bulgaria enabled to rearm and immediately she secured a French loan of £3,000,000 for



armaments and communications. Rearmament thus went forward and territorial claims, particularly to the south of Dobrudja, advanced at the same time. Hitler's example was infectious. Munich incited the revisionist hopes to fever heat.

Throughout this period there was a deep opposition from the people to the policies which were leading them to ruin and, whatever may be true of other countries, in Bulgaria it is an unquestionable fact that the struggle for peace and decent living standards for the people, was led by the Communist or Workers' Party. After a period of suppression, the Workers' Party was established as a legal entity in 1927 and continued to be so until it was suppressed in 1934 with all other political parties. Its leadership was faulty and it failed to produce a successful opposition to the *coup d'état* of 1934. Nevertheless, it was at this period that the Bulgarian working-class movement gained the attention of the entire world by the epoch-making stand of its real leader, Georgi Dimitrov, at the Leipzig Trial, when he withstood Goering to his face and demonstrated to the whole of mankind that it was possible to face fascism unafraid. His defence included an important defence of the Balkan and Bulgarian peoples.

I have not only [he said] been roundly abused by the press—something to which I am completely indifferent—but my people have also, through me, been characterised as savage and barbarous. I have been called a suspicious character from the Balkans, and a wild Bulgarian. I cannot allow such things to pass in silence.

It is true that Bulgarian fascism is savage and barbarous. But the working class, the peasants and the culture of Bulgaria, are neither savage nor barbarous. True that the level of material well-being is not so high in the Balkans as elsewhere in Europe but it is false to say that the people of Bulgaria are politically or mentally on a lower scale than the peoples of other countries. Our political struggle, our political aspirations are no less lofty than those of other peoples. A people which lived for five hundred years under a foreign yoke without losing its language and its national character, a people of workers and peasants who have fought and are fighting Bulgarian fascism—such a people is not savage and barbarous. But I ask you, in what country does fascism not bear these qualities?

President (interrupting): Are you attempting to refer to the situation in Germany?

Dimitrov: At a period in history when the "German" Emperor Charlemagne vowed that he would talk German only to his horse, at a time when the nobility and intellectual circles of Germany wrote only Latin and were ashamed of their mother tongue, Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius invented and spread the use of the old Bulgarian script.

The Bulgarian people has fought obstinately and with all its strength against foreign oppression. Therefore I protest here and now against these attacks on my people. I have no cause to be ashamed of being Bulgarian. In fact I am proud to say that I am the son of the Bulgarian working people.

Dimitrov won his way to freedom but he was not allowed to return to Bulgaria, being refused admission by the Moushanov Government, and it was in his work as the Secretary of the Communist International in Moscow, in securing the new approach of that body at its seventh World Congress in 1935, that he made his major contribution at that time to the development of the Bulgarian working-class movement. It was this approach which led to a clarification of the line of the Bulgarian Workers' Party and led it to seek a broad anti-fascist unity and to demand a pact of friendship with the U.S.S.R. Such a pact was, indeed, a serious possibility even as late as December 1940 when the Soviet Government sent an offer through M. Sobolev which was, tragically enough, rejected.\*

On the eve of the Second World War Bulgaria was still an agricultural country (to the extent of 80 per cent of its working population) but it was in a backward state and its methods were outdated. 471,000 wooden ploughs were still in use, there was still a two-field rotation and a strip system. Its yields were among the lowest in Europe. The mass of the peasantry were poor and lived on bread and cheese. Industry accounted for only 10 per cent of the people but those who were employed in it worked for long hours for low wages. The proper trade unions had been dissolved in 1934 and a fascist union created in 1935. Strikes were treated as mutiny. Of a national debt of £53,000,000 (1 January 1935), £33,000,000 (62 per cent) was in foreign possession as was also 21 per cent of the banking capital. Transport was over 60 per cent foreign-owned.† Foreign trade was 59 per cent Nazi.

### *The Second World War*

At the beginning of the Second World War opinion in the ruling groups in Bulgaria was divided, some being pro-German and others being pro-British, although the extent of German economic penetration and the degree of national chauvinism in the ruling class, leading to a clamant revisionism, plus the fact that Hitler appeared to be winning, made it certain that they would turn the way they did.

\* Was it a movement of nervousness in December 1939 that sent a Bulgarian Economic Delegation to Moscow?

† Railways were State owned.

The German line was to tempt Boris and his Government with the possibility of gaining territory from Greece; the problem was for Bulgaria to join in the war on Hitler's side without over-inflaming the pro-Russian Bulgarian people. A Bulgarian-Turkish Declaration of non-aggression was signed on 17 February 1941 and on 10 March Bulgaria signed the Tripartite Pact. On 3 March, with the support of the Prime Minister, Filov, German troops entered the country and Field-Marshal List set up his headquarters in Sofia. The preparation for the invasion of Greece was almost complete and on 6 April both Yugoslavia and Greece were invaded. Bulgarian troops did not take part in the invasions but acted as occupation forces and the Bulgarian reward was Serbian Macedonia with Skopje and a part of Eastern Serbia, together with Thrace, taken from Greece. Negotiations for the return of the south of Dobrudja were eventually successful.

Boris ruled until his death on 28 August 1943, although the Filov Cabinet continued in office, despite resignations.

From the earliest period of the war, the Bulgarian working class and progressive movement organised and fought for the defence of the people. At first they met with the warm support of the people but as German victory began to bring a spurious economic revival the position became more difficult. Nevertheless, the fight for national independence went on. Outstanding among the pamphlets produced was Todor Pavlov's\* *Wrong Notions*. As the result of this work and as the result of being compelled to find occupation troops for Macedonia, Serbia and Greece, and being subjected to constant mobilisation of people for war work and seizure of cattle, the feeling against the German alliance was steadily mounting before the German attack on the U.S.S.R. of 22 June 1941. After that date it grew rapidly and the task of the people's movement was clearly seen as the prevention of Bulgaria joining the war against the U.S.S.R. A military committee was established at an early stage which later played an outstanding part in the liberation of the country. Appeals were made to the people and sabotage was encouraged. The appeal of the Central Committee of the Worker's Party of 22 August 1941, said:

The alliance of the greatest and most powerful world powers—the U.S.A., Great Britain, and the U.S.S.R.—is being formed. By pooling their means and by their common efforts they will attain their aim—the defeat of Hitler's Germany—as soon as possible. . . . Our salvation lies in the general fight of all freedom-loving nations against Fascism.

\* He later became a Regent and is now the President of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

In December 1941 an appeal of the Workers' Party said:

Why and in the name of what, had Bulgaria to be involved in the World War without her being attacked; the Bulgarian people ask in perplexity! Why and for the sake of what Bulgarian interests, just because Japan treacherously attacked the United States in the Pacific, had Bulgaria to declare war on the great democratic American nation? What has she to dispute with the Americans, what wrong have they done to her? . . . War was declared by a band of Hitler's agents, who, despite the will and interest of the Bulgarian people, tied Bulgaria to the chariot of Fascism. The Bulgarian people made no promises to Hitler, they have not approved the pact by which Bulgaria joined the Axis. The Bulgarian people have no reason to fight and do not consider themselves in a state of war with the American, British and Soviet nations and their allies. They do not accept the obligations which the present fascist Government has assumed towards Hitler without the people's knowledge and consent. . . . Bulgarians, do not raise a hand against our brothers—the Russians—who fight for their freedom and independence, for the liberty and independence of all nations. Do not fight against our Yugoslav and Greek brothers, who are carrying on an heroic struggle against the German and Italian invaders, against the Allies of the U.S.S.R., who all fight for the defeat of the Fascist tyranny.

There followed the first acts of sabotage, chief among which was the setting on fire of a train in Varna loaded with petrol and the firing of German clothes and petrol stores. Railways became disorganised and production fell. There were savage reprisals and many executions, the response to which was the beginning of a military struggle against the German occupation. A law for the defence of the State prescribed the death penalty for any act of resistance. Between 1 January and 9 September the official (and possibly minimised) figures of punishment were:

Death sentences passed on persons present	425
Death sentences passed on absent persons	1185
Death sentences carried out	119
Sentences of life imprisonment	1133
Sentences of temporary imprisonment	7324
Acquitted	2832
Charged with aims for which the law prescribes the death penalty	12,461

The prisons were overcrowded until the end of the war and floggings and executions grew apace.

The customary attempt was made to win the country over to the fascist side by anti-semitic propaganda and the persecution of the Jews.

The attempt failed completely and the resistance movement and the Orthodox Church were completely at one in standing against it. The Holy Synod publicly refused an order to prohibit the baptism of Jews and the pressure of public opinion was so great that even the Filov Government never really co-operated with Himmler on the Jewish question.

Bulgaria was the one country in Eastern Europe from which there were no deportations of Jews, the only deportations being from occupied Greek and Yugoslav territory. In Bulgaria proper it simply was not possible. "The mentality of the Bulgarian people", said a report to the Nazi Main Security Office, "is lacking in the ideological enlightenment which our people enjoy." The Bulgarian Jewish Community whose history began in Nicopolis, under Trajan, and which was greatly extended in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by merchants from Venice and Ragusa and by Spanish Jews in 1492, survived.

The struggle of the Bulgarian people against participation in the war against the U.S.S.R. and for social justice became consolidated on 17 July 1942, when the first programme of the Fatherland Front was proclaimed from the Christo Botev Broadcasting Station (in Moscow) with the support of the Workers' Party, the Agrarians' Union, the "Zveno"\* Group, and a section of the army. It declared:

The anti-national policy of the Government of King Boris constitutes a real national menace. Bulgaria is today subordinated to Hitler, while the Bulgarian people are the slaves of German imperialism.

As Hitler's plan of dominating the world is doomed to fail, the continuation of this treacherous policy will push the Bulgarian people towards disaster and they will lose their national independence.

The supreme duty of the Bulgarian people, their army and their patriotic intelligentsia in this historical moment is to unite themselves in a powerful Fatherland Front for the salvation of Bulgaria.

The programme of the Fatherland Front consists of the following:

- (1) Not to permit Bulgaria to be involved in Hitler's criminal war, so disastrous for the Bulgarian people.
- (2) Immediately to withdraw the Bulgarian troops sent to crush the struggle of the brotherly Serbian people against the German and Italian invasion.
- (3) To break off the alliance between Bulgaria and Hitlerite Germany and the other states which are members of the "Axis" and to wrest the Bulgarian army from the hands of the Nazi-Fascist and Gestapo agents.

\* Led by Kimon Georgiev.

- (4) To discontinue the export of raw materials destined for Germany and the other countries which are members of the "Axis". To guarantee the food supply of the Bulgarian people and army and to maintain low prices for basic goods.
- (5) In accordance with the "Atlantic Charter" to guarantee the national interests of the Bulgarian people by agreements with the other Balkan nations and close friendship and co-operation between Bulgaria and the U.S.S.R., as well as with the other freedom-loving nations.
- (6) The immediate release of all civil and military prisoners persecuted for their struggle against Fascism and Hitlerite Germany.
- (7) To re-establish the political rights of the people especially the freedom of press and meetings, and to cancel all anti-constitutional, anti-national and fascist laws.
- (8) To retrieve the army from the hands of the monarcho-fascist clique and to take decisive measures against the use of the army for anti-national purposes. To guarantee the officers, and non-commissioned officers, complete civil rights as citizens.
- (9) To abolish fascist Organisations, such as "Brannik", the "Union of Rathitz", "The Legioners". To render the fascist criminals harmless and to take measures for their strict punishment.
- (10) Not to permit the use of the national resources and labour by foreign usurpers and to create conditions for a normal economic development of the country as a free and independent state.
- (11) To guarantee the people's livelihood, work, income and a human existence for the working population of both town and village.
- (12) To bring to an end the fascist outrages, racial hatred and the humiliation of our national prestige.

The realisation of these important aims requires the establishment of a true national Government, qualified to apply the Fatherland Front policy of salvation, firmly and consistently. Owing to this the first aim of the Fatherland Front is to overthrow the present treacherously anti-national pro-Hitlerite Government and to establish a genuinely Bulgarian Government.

Relying on the will and support of the entire Bulgarian people, this Government will also prepare conditions for the calling of the Grand National Assembly, which will determine Bulgaria's future form of Government and will establish the necessary constitutional and material guarantees for the liberty, independence and prosperity of our Country.

The will and support of the Bulgarian people was freely given and no Bulgarian army was sent to any of the fronts. Instead, the Fatherland Front formed its own armed detachments to aid in the liberation of the country and the partisans so formed operated throughout the war. The earliest partisan band was formed at Razlog in July 1941 and



followed by others in the Sredna Gora mountains and at Batak, the place which had become world-famous in 1876, and the movement spread rapidly. Help came from Bulgarian exiles who returned from the U.S.S.R., although a number of them were betrayed to the police by fascist agents within the Fatherland Front. In April 1942, one section of the Central Committee and military leadership were betrayed, but the work went on despite this and new leaders arose. Graphs eventually captured from the Germans show the figures for sabotage and terrorist acts constantly increasing: they disarmed police, they burnt military stores, they attacked German outposts. German figures for one period show the following:

Kind of Action	1943				1944		Total
	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Jan.	Feb.	
Blowing up of rails	9	6	7	9	1	4	36
Deraillments and train collisions	3	10	6	16	3	—	38
On transport material	5	2	4	3	—	1	15
Damage to line of communication	6	5	13	10	4	—	38
Damage to industrial enterprises	5	2	2	2	4	1	16
Burning of archives	4	15	10	6	4	6	45
Raids for foodstuffs, arms and money	11	64	54	24	16	9	178
Investigation activity	6	3	7	2	1	2	21
Kidnappings and killings	15	23	20	5	7	12	82
Attacks on German Servicemen	1	2	4	3	—	2	12
Other attacks	38	142	165	104	55	133	637
Total	103	274	292	184	95	170	1118

Casualty figures given by the German Intelligence Bureau from 1 September 1943 to 15 February 1944 were:

	Killed	Wounded	Captured	Kid-napped	Total
Of the German army	44	68	—	19	131
Of the Bulgarian police and army	150	128	—	140	418
Of the Partisans	677	48	472	—	1197
Of the Civil population	133	34	—	188	355

It will be seen that although this was not full-scale war, it was something serious and formidable. It is something which increased considerably in 1943 and even more in 1944. In June 1944, alone, there were 497 cases of sabotage. Links were established with the partisan movements in Greece and Yugoslavia, and Major Frank Thompson was parachuted into the country to act as a liaison officer with the British forces. He marched with the partisans and in May 1944 was captured. Early in June he was executed after a mock trial at Litakovo. Later he was honoured as a national hero of the resistance and a monument was erected to his memory.

So the situation was prepared when, on 9 September 1944, a Bulgarian guerilla army was able to join in the liberating work of the Soviet Army. After the Battle of Stalingrad Boris had seen the necessity of finding the way out of a deteriorating situation and had made contact with Anglo-American circles. Then he was called to Hitler's headquarters and on his return to Sofia died suddenly on 28 August 1943. He was succeeded by a minor, his son Simeon. Within a year the Soviet Army had driven the German troops out of Rumania and was approaching the Bulgarian frontier. At this stage the Government, now under Bagrianov, declared its "neutrality". The reply to this manoeuvre came on 5 September, when the Soviet Government proclaimed a state of war between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria. On 8 September, Soviet troops entered the country. On 2 September, a new Government had come into existence under Muraviev, which lasted a week during which it declared war on Germany. On 9 September, the Fatherland Front staged an insurrection and the Fascist Government was swept out of office. On the 6th the Pernik miners arose, on the 7th there were skirmishes in Sliven and Plevén, and on the same day the partisans seized Gabrovo. In Burgas and elsewhere the authorities were overthrown. On the 9th the new Government of the Fatherland Front was formed. At last Bulgaria was free and from 17 October 1944 until 9 May 1945, its troops fought under the command of Marshal Tolbukhin, Commander of the Ukrainian Front, against the Fascist armies.

## THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

WHEN the Second World War came to an end, Bulgaria was an economically exhausted country. The strain of war, exploitation by Germany, and the allied air attacks which had taken place between November 1943 and April 1944, had combined to produce chaos. The complete bankruptcy of the ruling class had also produced a political chaos and it was only the emergence of the Fatherland Front, composed of the Communist Party, the Zveno Party, the Left-wing Agrarians, and the Social Democrats that made possible the redemption of the situation. A wholly new era in Bulgarian history began when the Fatherland Front Government, with Kimon Georgiev as Prime Minister, came into office as the result of the uprising of 9 September 1944.

In this new government Georgiev and three others were members of the Zveno Party, four were Communists, two were Social Democrats, and four were Agrarians. There were two Independents. Among these parties the strongest was the Communist because it alone had kept its local organisations in town and village in existence throughout the war. It had fought and suffered with the people and was therefore closest to them. Its leaders were world-famous, and it is appropriate at this point to say a word about the most outstanding of them all.

The leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party was Georgi Dimitrov. He had been born in the county of Radomir in 1882 of a father who was at first an independent craftsman and later, a factory worker. He was a man devoted to the Bulgarian working class and his family grew up in the trade union movement. Their record was a proud one. The eldest boy, Konstantin, became Secretary of the Union of Printers' Apprentices and was killed in 1913 in the Balkan war. Another son, Nicola, went to Russia at the time of the 1905 revolution, was sent to Siberia by the Tsarist police in 1908 and died of hardship in 1917. A third son, Todor, was killed by the Bulgarian police in 1925. Georgi himself left school at twelve and took work as a typesetter. He was a keen student of Blagoev and at fifteen became an active member of the Sofia Union of Printers' Apprentices. His first article appeared in

1897 in the *Printer's Apprentice*. At the age of eighteen he became the secretary of his union. In 1902 he joined the Social Democratic Party in which he strongly supported Blagoev, and after the split in the party he became the secretary of the Sofia organisation of the "Narrow" Socialists, the party which eventually became the Bulgarian Communist Party. From 1909 onwards he was a member of its Central Committee. Dimitrov rapidly became one of the leading figures in the Bulgarian working class movement, especially on its trade union side, playing an outstanding part in the Pernik miners' strike in 1906, the Sliven textile strike in 1908, the Kostenets match strike in 1909, the ore workers' strike in Pldkalmitsa, and the tobacco workers' strike in Plovdiv in 1913. He opposed the coming world war and the coming Balkan war and wrote in 1911. "The bourgeoisie is pressing a nationalistic and a chauvinistic policy and is dragging us into war—the working class must be united and tighten its ranks in order to preserve peace in the Balkans." In 1913 he became a Deputy to the National Assembly as well as a Councillor for the Sofia Municipality and he used these two positions to fight for the working people and to oppose the war. The result of this was a year and a half in prison. In 1920 he was sent by his party, with Kolarov, to the Second Congress of the Third International and thereafter his work was much bound up with this organisation to which his party had affiliated. At first, however, he continued his work at home but after the abortive September uprising of 1923, in which he played a leading part, he had to work for his people from abroad, in fact from Vienna and Berlin. It was in this second city that he was arrested by Goering in 1933 and charged with firing the Reichstag. A movement in his defence grew up throughout the world and his own defence in the subsequent trial was an epic which will always stand out in the history of the twentieth century. So clearly did it stand out that he had to be released and made his way to Moscow, where he became the Secretary of the Communist International and played a leading part in creating a People's Front against war and fascism. When, despite this, the war came, he remained in the U.S.S.R. from where he did much to direct his people's struggle for liberty. Only on 5 November 1945, was he able to return to Sofia.

Twenty-two years [he then said] have already elapsed since I was last on Bulgarian soil. You will not doubt my words when I tell you that during that whole time, wherever I have been, whatever I have been doing, never for one moment have I ceased to think of it and to struggle for the Bulgarian people, for their future, happiness and prosperity.

Back in Bulgaria Dimitrov served his people until his death on 2 July 1949. The line he took is shown in part by his broadcast address to the Bulgarian people on 7 September 1946 in which he said:

Bulgaria will be a People's Republic which will leave no open doors for a return to the shameful past of Monarchism, Fascism and greater Bulgarian Chauvinism and which will create all the necessary constitutional, political, economic, material and cultural guarantees for the development of our country along the path of progress towards national prosperity, towards the elimination of all exploitation of man by man.

Bulgaria will be a People's Republic, a free and sovereign country. It will not dance to the tune of different capitalist corporations and trusts which want to enslave the small nations politically and economically.

Bulgaria will be a People's Republic, a factor for Slav unity and fraternity against any possible aggression. It will not grease the axle of any anti-Slav or anti-Soviet policy leading to enmity between the peoples.

Bulgaria will be a People's Republic which, together with other democratic and freedom loving peoples, will represent a strong element of peace and democracy in the Balkans and Europe and not a tool for military adventures and aggressive wars.

This was a splendid programme and, put like that, it commanded the support of a great majority of the people of Bulgaria. Trying to put it into practice, however, was no easy matter and so soon as the attempt was made it is not surprising that all kinds of difficulties, all kinds of disagreements, and all kinds of tensions, began to emerge. To solve them, Dimitrov declared, speaking to the Second Congress of the Fatherland Front, he and his colleagues relied for support primarily upon the working class. "A people's democracy", he said, "is possible only under the leadership of the working class."

Theoretically what Dimitrov and his colleagues were setting out to do was to turn their deeply scarred country into a "People's Democracy" and what they meant by this was stated by Dimitrov at some length in a speech he made before the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1948, a report of which is readily available in English in *Selected Articles and Speeches of Georgi Dimitrov*.<sup>\*</sup> From this speech it is important to give a long extract because it expresses, as nothing else could, the way in which the leaders of the new Bulgaria saw their task and the temper of mind in which they approached it.

The character of a People's Democracy [said Dimitrov] is determined by four major factors:

<sup>\*</sup> Lawrence and Wishart, 1951.

(1) The People's Democracy represents the power of the working people—of the overwhelming majority of the people under the leadership of the working class.

That means first, that the rule of the capitalists and landlords is overthrown and the rule of the working people from the towns and villages, under the leadership of the working class, established, that the working class as the most progressive class in contemporary society is playing the principal role in state and public life. Second, that the state serves as an instrument in the fight of the working people against the exploiters, against all efforts and tendencies aimed at re-establishing the capitalist order and bourgeois rule.

(2) The People's Democracy is a state in the transitional period, destined to ensure the development of the state on the path to Socialism.

That means that although the role of the capitalists and landlords is overthrown and their property handed over to the people, the economic roots of Capitalism are not yet extirpated; capitalist vestiges still persist and develop, trying to restore their rule. Therefore, the onward march towards Socialism is possible only by waging a relentless class struggle against the capitalist elements and for their liquidation.

Only by advancing directly on the road to the achievement of Socialism can the People's Democracy stabilise itself and fulfil its historic mission. Should it cease to fight against exploiting classes and to eliminate them, the latter would inevitably gain the upper hand and would bring about its downfall.

(3) The People's Democracy is built on collaboration and friendship with the Soviet Union.

Just as the liberation of our country from the fetters of Imperialism and the establishment of People's Democracy were made possible by the aid and liberating role of the U.S.S.R. in the fight against fascist Germany and its satellites, so the further development of our People's Democracy presupposes the safeguarding and further promotion of close relations and sincere collaboration, mutual aid and friendship between our State and the Soviet State. Any tendency towards weakening this collaboration with the U.S.S.R. is directed against the very existence of the People's Democracy in our country.

(4) The People's Democracy belongs to the democratic anti-imperialist camp.

(4) Only by joining in the united, democratic anti-imperialist camp, headed by the mighty Soviet State, can every People's Democracy assure its independence, sovereignty and safety against the aggression of the imperialist forces.

(B) Under the conditions of the military collapse of the fascist aggressor States, of the abrupt sharpening of the general capitalist crisis, of the immense strengthening of the power of the Soviet Union and of the existing close collaboration with the U.S.S.R. and the New Democracies, our country and

the other New Democracies were enabled to realise the transition from Capitalism to Socialism without the establishment of a Soviet order, through the regime of People's Democracy, on the condition that that regime was consolidated and developed, and by leaning on the U.S.S.R. and the other New Democracies.

(C) Embodying the rule of the working people under the leadership of the working class, the People's Democracy, in the existing historical situation, as is already proved by experience, can and must successfully perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the liquidation of the capitalist elements and the organisation of a socialist economy. It can crush the resistance of the overthrown capitalists and landowners, their attempts to restore the rule of capital, and to organise the building of industry on the basis of public ownership and planned economy. The regime of the people's democracy will succeed in overcoming the vacillations of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and middle class peasantry, in neutralising the capitalist elements in the villages and in rallying all the working people around the working class for the onward march towards Socialism.

The regime of the People's Democracy will not change its character during the carrying out of this policy which aims at eliminating the capitalist elements from the national economy. The key positions of the working class in all spheres of public life must continuously be strengthened and all village elements rallied who might become allies of the workers during the period of sharp struggles against the Kulaks and their hangers-on. The people's democratic regime must be strengthened and improved in order to render powerless and liquidate the class enemies.

(D) The New Democracies, including Bulgaria, are already marching towards Socialism, in ceaseless struggle against all domestic and especially foreign enemies. They are now creating the conditions necessary for the building of Socialism, the economic and cultural basis for a future socialist society.

This is the central task facing the New Democracies and, consequently, the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

This task embraces the following important aspects.

(a) Consolidation of the key positions held by the working class, headed by the Communist Party, in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life.

(b) Strengthening the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class.

(c) Speeding up the development of the public section of national economy and, in particular, of heavy industry.

(d) Creating the conditions for liquidating the capitalist elements in village economy by a consistent policy aiming at their isolation and subsequent annihilation.

(e) All-round development of producers' co-operatives among the

peasants, giving state assistance to the poor and middle class peasants through machine and tractor stations, agricultural machines credit, seed loans, etc., intensifying their alliance with the working class, persuading them by the example of the co-operative farms of the advantages of that system, and re-educating them in a spirit of intolerance towards capitalist elements.

So far as the nationalisation of the land is concerned, we consider that in our situation and with the development of the co-operative farms, this question has no practical importance, i.e. we think that the nationalisation of the land is not a necessary condition for the development and mechanisation of our rural economy.

(E) The People's Democracy stands for internationalism. Nationalism is incompatible with the People's Democracy. Our Party sees in internationalism, i.e. international collaboration under Comrade Stalin, a guarantee of our country's independent existence, prosperity and progress towards Socialism. We think that nationalism, under no matter what guise, is an enemy of Communism. This was clearly demonstrated by the anti-communist actions of Tito's group in Yugoslavia. Hence the fight against nationalism is a primary duty of Communists.

Fighting all manifestations of nationalism, we must re-educate the working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to their country, i.e. in a spirit of genuine patriotism.

Education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and devotion to one's country means, above all, to make people fully conscious of the unique importance of a firm united front of the New Democracies and the U.S.S.R. in the struggle against aggressive forces of international reaction and imperialism. The entire future of our people depends, on the one hand, on the power of the Soviet Union, and, on the other, on their readiness and ability, in case of capitalist aggression, honourably to fulfil their duty in the common fight.

This passage should be read and re-read, for in itself in brief it tells much of the story of Bulgaria since the war. It tells of an assault upon the power of "capitalists and landlords" and the "rule of the working people from the towns and villages" but "under the leadership of the working class". It shows the State being deliberately used as an instrument in the struggle involved in the process. It talks of "a relentless class struggle" and the conflict this has involved has been a large part of Bulgarian post-war history. It sees quite clearly that none of this could be done without "collaboration and friendship of the Soviet Union" and collaboration with this powerful neighbour has been the cardinal point of foreign policy. Any tendency towards weakening this collaboration, it says, "is directed against the very existence of the People's Democracy in our country". This has meant that any critic of



the form Bulgarian-Soviet relations had assumed at any period was treated as an enemy of the State. This has been the more true in that the whole process, as this statement shows, has been treated as one of taking part in a period of ceaseless struggle with enemies within and without. This has meant a general severity which has unquestionably led at times to grave abuse and, insofar as Yugoslavia under Tito was listed as an enemy, made certain that many people would be falsely condemned. Consolidation of the key positions held by the working class, headed by the Communist Party, in all spheres of political, economic, and cultural life meant the complete hegemony of the Communist Party and, in certain situations, the creation of a gulf between that party and the ordinary working people. Again the isolation and subsequent annihilation of capitalist elements in the villages has often meant in practice an oppressive treatment of small farms which has not helped to increase production. The interpretation of internationalism as "international collaboration under Comrade Stalin" made sure that Bulgaria would be involved in all the mistakes of the Soviet Government of that time, including the crimes of the security police. Here, therefore, in this passage, are summed up the errors and tragedies of post-war Bulgaria, but summed up also are its grandeur and its strength in the attempt to create a wholly new order of living in a previously deeply backward country.

Throughout a large part of his career there had been associated with Dimitrov another man, who was now associated with him in forging the destiny of post-war Bulgaria. This man was Vasil Kolarov who had been born in Shoumen (now Kolarovgrad) in 1877. He ran away from school in 1885 and volunteered for service in the Serbo-Bulgarian war but was sent home and had to return to school. Later he came under the influence of Blagoev and conducted illegal study circles in Varna. In 1894 and 1895 he edited in Varna *The Students' Voice*, and after that he became a teacher and founded the National Teachers' Union. In 1897 he returned to his studies and for three years was a law student at Aix-en-Provence. Then, from 1900 to 1904, he worked in Shoumen as a lawyer, speaking for the Social Democratic Federation and also attending the Officers' School. In 1904 he began full-time political work and from then until 1919 he replaced Blagoev in directing the work in Plovdiv, being also elected to the Parliament. After the war, in 1919, he became the Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and also, between 1921 and 1925, did important work in the Communist International. In 1923 he left Moscow to lead the fight against the fascist *coup d'état*. He was arrested and released and then

played an important part in the abortive revolution which followed. He then had to flee first to Yugoslavia, then to Vienna, and then to Moscow. In the years that followed he worked first in the emigrant leadership of his own party and then in the leadership of the Communist International. Between 1933 and 1939 he played a leading part first in the struggle to save Dimitrov and then in the struggle for the Spanish people. After 1939 he became again a member of the emigrant Bureau of his own party and worked in it until, on 9 September 1944, he returned to Sofia and began to play a leading part in the Fatherland Front.

When the Fatherland Front Government came into power it took the view, as is made quite clear in the extract from a later report by Dimitrov quoted above, that, to make any advance for the people possible, it must suppress fascism and develop the people's own power. Special tribunals were created to try the cases of fascists and collaborators and among those condemned, some of whom received death sentences and some of whom prison sentences, were the three Regents (Prince Cyril, Professor Filov, and General Mihov), a number of former ministers and a number of former members of Parliament as well as police officers and army officers. An official statement issued in March 1945 stated that there had been 2138 executions, 1940 sentences of twenty years' imprisonment and 1689 sentences of ten to fifteen years' imprisonment. Side by side with this stern repression of those who had acquiesced in, supported or taken part in, Hitler's brutalities, and those who still hoped for the restoration of a fascist order, went the creation of thirty trade unions and a great upsurge of political activity by the mass of the people. It needs hardly to be said that the entire fascist police apparatus was destroyed and that in the new police force (or people's militia), as in so many other walks of life, new men were called for and were put immediately into leading positions and so the nature of the state power began to change. Much of the change was due to the local committees of the Fatherland Front.

Not all members of the Government and not all parties supporting the Government were wholly convinced of the rightness of the policy that was being pursued. Its aim of effecting a complete transfer of power from one section of society to another could be accepted only by those who had faith in the creative power of the people and, among those who lacked this, there was not a little coming and going between their offices and certain foreign embassies, and not a little wistful looking at certain western armies. Would the attack of the British Army on the forces of E.L.A.S. in Greece, it was asked, for

example, extend any farther into the Balkans? This subversive opposition to the Fatherland Front—subversive in the sense that its policies were linked with the idea of using foreign armies—was brought to a head by the return to Bulgaria in September 1944 of G. M. Dimitrov of the Agrarian Union who had spent the war in North Africa. He became Secretary of the Agrarian Party, was soon subjected to a growing criticism and resigned the secretaryship of the Union on 18 January 1945 and shortly afterwards was accused of subversive activities, put under house arrest and then, in August 1945, he fled to the United States. He was succeeded by Nikola Petkov who shared his policy and when, in the following May, the Conference of the Agrarian Union voted firmly for collaboration with other sections of the Government, he and three other members of the Government resigned from their positions in the party although they remained in the Government until they resigned from that too during the election campaign of August 1945.

Despite this uneasy opposition the Fatherland Front rallied the great majority of the people with a programme of democratic reforms. Women were afforded equality with men both in work and in public life, they were given equal pay for equal work and a network of crèches and kindergartens set up to make it possible for them to avail themselves of their new opportunities. Equality was given to the national minorities and sums of money voted to facilitate the development of their education and culture. A law on landed property limited holdings to 200 decares (just under 5 acres) or 300 decares in the Dobrudja. All illegally acquired wealth was confiscated. Measures were taken to secure some kind of popular control of the army and the police force. At first there were no fundamental economic changes but measures were taken to restore the national economy which had been laid waste by war, ravaged by the Germans, and further dislocated by two successive droughts. So capitalism remained, but public control of capitalism was instituted and fully supported by the growing trade unions.

A general election was arranged for 26 August 1945 but was postponed on the insistence of the American members of the Allied Control Commission, and was eventually held on 18 November 1945. Further elections for the Grand National Assembly were held in October 1946 and the Fatherland Front won over 70 per cent of the votes and gained 364 seats to the opposition's 101. Of these 364 seats, 277 were Communists while the others were Agrarian, Social Democratic, and Zveno.

The outstanding problem for Bulgaria was now the question of international recognition and an important step towards this was taken immediately after the election, when the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow stated in its communique:

It is understood by the three Governments (Britain, U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.) that the Soviet Government takes upon itself the mission of giving friendly advice to the Bulgarian Government with regard to the desirability of the inclusion in the Bulgarian Government of the Fatherland Front, now being formed, of an additional two representatives of other democratic groups, who (a) are truly representative of the groups of the parties which are not participating in the Government, and (b) are really suitable and will work loyally with the Government. As soon as the Governments of the United States of America and the United Kingdom are convinced that this friendly advice has been accepted by the Bulgarian Government and the said additional representatives have been included in its body, the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom will recognise the Bulgarian Government, with which the Government of the Soviet Union already has diplomatic relations.

There was, it needs hardly be said, no question of the readiness of the Fatherland Front to accept the friendly advice of the Soviet Government and Mr. Vyshinsky visited Sofia in January 1946 for this purpose. The Government was prepared to accept Messrs. Petkov and Lulchev as members; they, however, were not prepared to join the Government unless it surrendered to their terms. The matter was surveyed again in March when there were conversations between the Government and the Opposition which did not, however, lead to any results. This disagreement perhaps encouraged certain elements in the Zveno Party to develop their opposition—against their own leader Kimon Georgiev who was a loyal member of the Government—and the Government replied by a law which transferred to the Cabinet the powers previously held by the Minister of War and transferred the Minister of War, General Velchev, to an appointment abroad.

The most serious political problem that now remained was that of the monarchy which had been personally identified with all the national disasters of the modern Bulgarian State, and had been closely linked with Germany. So clear is the matter that even a writer as firmly opposed to the Bulgarian Republic as Mr. Hugh Seton-Watson is compelled to write:★ "The proclamation of the Republic was therefore hardly a controversial issue." A plebiscite was held on 8 September

★ *The East European Revolution*, p. 216.

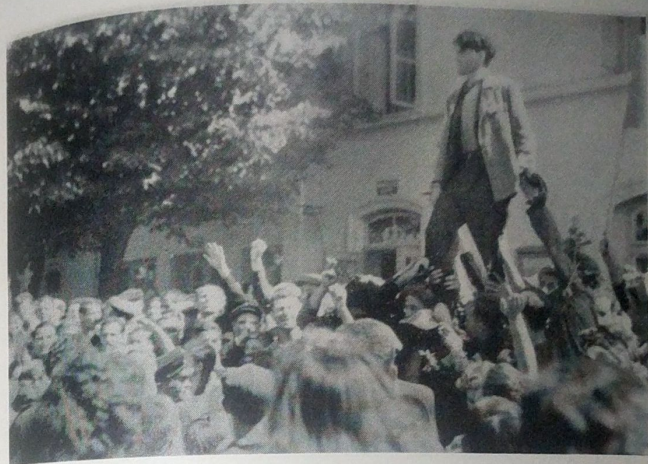


1946 and only 4.79 per cent of the votes were in favour of the monarchy. The young king, Simeon, left the country with £5,000,000 sterling as compensation for his properties and Vassil Kolarov became the provisional President. The referendum was followed on 27 October by election to a new Grand National Assembly, the result of which we have already related.

It was in the period which now followed under the Dimitrov Government which saw the major struggle between Government and Opposition out of which came a number of treason trials culminating in the Petkov trial in August 1947 when, as Dimitrov himself said, the death sentence which was passed would certainly have been commuted to imprisonment but for the attempts to bring pressure upon the Bulgarian Courts from outside the country. Unquestionably this was a difficult period for the country to live through. New officials had to learn their duties and gain the confidence of the people while, on the other hand, the temptations to dissident politicians to engage in treason were considerable, and while the strains and stresses of the "cold war" invested political differences with a greater significance than they sometimes had, the Bulgarian Government regarded it as its duty to defend the country and did so vigorously, but in doing so was involved in the whole process of false arrest and imprisonment which emanated from the U.S.S.R. and was associated with the name of Beria.

The success of the Bulgarian Government in withstanding the many attacks that were made against it, attacks which were sometimes within the law and sometimes without the law, would not have been possible had not the Government at that time had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people and their organisations, and it is not an accident that one of the results of this period was that on 11 August 1948, the Socialists led by Neikov and the Communists united their forces and made one movement.

But before this happened an event of enormous importance took place, namely the adoption of the New Bulgarian Constitution on 4 December 1947, an act which strengthened enormously the fight against fascism and militarism which was going on in the country, and strengthened it in the only way such a fight can be strengthened, i.e. by the extension of democracy. The Constitution lays down that Bulgaria was "a People's Republic with a representative Government. All power within the Republic derives from the people and belongs to the people". The franchise is given to all citizens of eighteen years of age, whether men or women. The economic organisation laid down

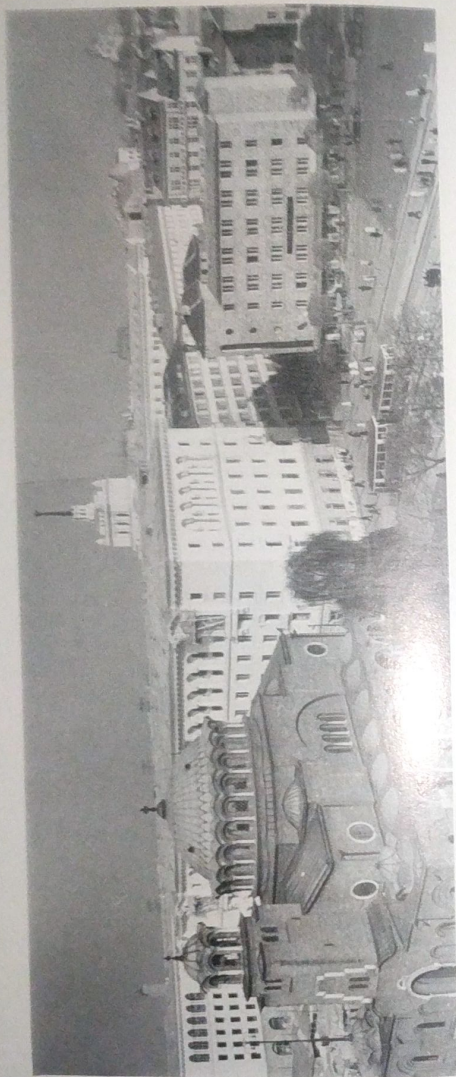


A STRIKE MEETING

PARTISANS







NEW BUILDING AFTER THE WAR

in the constitution is a mixed one and the means of production are owned by the State, by co-operatives or by private individuals or corporations (such as, for example, the Church). The Supreme Legislative body is a National Assembly (Parliament) which is elected by the people and which, in turn, appoints the Government. It is elected for four-yearly periods. City and County Councils are directly elected in the same way. There is complete equality for all citizens before the law and equal rights for men and women. The preaching of racial, national or religious hatred is forbidden by law and all citizens are guaranteed work, rest, and education. They have the right to form societies, associations, and organisations, provided only that they are not contrary to public order.

The political transformation which was contained in this constitution, however it may have been vitiated by a growth in practice of police powers, was an advance and was made possible by the stabilisation and development of the economic situation which it was the first task of the successive governments to deal with. Economically the country was at a very low ebb when the Fatherland Front Government took office, although it had not suffered the same degree of economic destruction as some other Eastern European countries. At first a two-year plan was launched (in April 1947) the aim of which was to restore agricultural and industrial production to pre-war levels. A third drought at harvest-time in 1947 unhappily prevented it from doing so in the agricultural field. The final result could be tabulated like this:

	1939	1946	1947 (target)	1947 (actual)	1948 (target)	1948 (actual)
Industrial production	100	137	148	123	167	171.5
Agricultural production	100	80	151	80	128	95

Before the Second World War Bulgaria had been a byword for backwardness, for corruption, for wooden ploughs and primitive industry. Indeed, in 1953 the then Prime Minister, Vulko Chervenkov, was able to describe the situation in these words:

On the ninth of September 1944, the victorious people received as their heritage an economically shattered, plundered, half-starved, internationally isolated Bulgaria.

Against this background the figures he gave, scattered liberally throughout a very long speech, were little short of miraculous. He began by pointing out that the first Five-Year Plan had been fulfilled in four



years. The very idea of a five-year economic plan for Bulgaria in itself represents an epoch in European history. That it should have been, in main outline, fulfilled in four years meant on the one hand a bold, clear-headed, and decisive leadership and, on the other, a vigorous and active people whose imagination had been captured. Sullen, surly, unhappy people reap no miracles, and it is of something not far short of the miraculous that we are now writing.

This five-year plan, adopted at the Fifth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party at the end of 1948, had set out to do five things by the end of 1953 and it was helped to do so by the nationalisation of industrial enterprises which had been decreed at the end of 1947.

1. To put public ownership of the means of production and distribution in a *commanding position* in the national economy (i.e. to make it predominate).

2. To change the ratio between industrial output and agricultural output from 30 to 70 (as it was in 1948) to 47 to 53, and to change the ratio between light and heavy industry from 70 to 30 (1948) to 55 to 45.

3. To make income from the publicly-owned sector of production reach 84 per cent of the total national income.

4. To bring the publicly-owned sector in agriculture (i.e. mainly co-operative farms) up to 60 per cent of the total agricultural production of the country.

5. To bring the public sector in retail trade up to 95 per cent.

To set out to achieve all this in a mountainous peasant country with a great individualism and a slight and tenuous industry, in a country of street markets and petty bargaining, was something in itself wholly remarkable. The figures which represent the achievement are, however, also remarkable. They may be summarised like this. Almost the entire industry of the country was socialised and became, in fact, divided only between the State and the co-operative sectors, the latter being 11 per cent of the total in 1952. The real test, however, was not here but in the realm of agriculture. Co-operative farms numbered 1100 in 1948. Then in 1950 model co-operative farm statutes were adopted and by 1952 there were 2747 co-operative farms, i.e. co-operative farmed land had increased from 731,000 acres to 6,281,250 acres. Even so to see the real meaning of this we need to know how many of the old privately-owned farms had gone into their construction. The number was 124,064 in 1948 and 5,521,968 in 1952. This meant 52.37 per cent of the farming land of the country. But in addition to this there are State farms, eighty-six in 1948 and 100 in 1952 accounting for another 265,000 acres. By the beginning of 1956,

77 per cent of the country's households and 75 per cent of its arable land were in the co-operative farms. The total result is as follows over the entire economy of the country. In 1939 the private sector was 100 and the public 0; in 1948 the private sector was 55.5 and the public 44.3; in 1952 the private was 13 and the public 87.

In 1939 industry formed only 27.1 per cent of the country's economy; in 1948 it was 39.4 per cent; in 1952 it was 55.9 per cent.

The ratio between heavy and light industry was 23 to 77; in 1952 it was 46.7 to 53.3.

The figures given above show that income derived from public and private sectors of the economy in 1952 approximated to the ratio 87 to 13.

They also show that the private ownership of industry had virtually ceased to exist.

They show further that the public sector in agriculture had mounted rapidly. If we take grain crops in 1952 the State farms accounted for 1.5 per cent, the co-operative farms for 65 per cent, and the private farms for 33.5 per cent. If we turn to the livestock situation at the end of 1952 we see that 25.2 per cent of the cattle, 43.5 per cent of the horses, 29.9 per cent of the sheep and goats and 17.6 per cent of the pigs were to be found on the co-operative and State farms.

The figures for retail trade were not given, but it was shown later that the co-operative sector amounted to 99.3 per cent and not 95 per cent as the plan had laid down. The private sector was reduced from 59.6 per cent in 1948 to 7 per cent in 1952.

Nevertheless, while these figures give us a very good idea of the great mass of effort which had gone into the working-out of this plan and the degree to which the first five-year plan had succeeded in achieving its basic aims, they do not tell us anything about the actual increase in the productivity of the country. In 1948 the national income of Bulgaria was 51,440,000,000 leva or 7205 leva per head; in 1952 it was 78,738 leva or 10,729 leva per head.\* This is not a doubling of income per head but it is a long way towards it, and it meant the feeling in the country that all the time things were getting better. Nevertheless, there were still real difficulties and shortages. Even in 1952 the area sown with grain was still slightly below the 1939 figures and although the explanation of this was very largely the increase in the growth of industrial crops, it demonstrated that there were still considerable shortages to be overcome. Unemployment had

\* In 1955 national income was 28 billion leva but the lev had been devalued and comparison had become difficult.

gone and the working class was increasing as opposed to the peasantry, which meant that the key to the expansion of food supplies had become an increase in mechanisation on the farms which was one of the reasons why so much importance was attached to the development of co-operative farming as the small plots of individual peasants were not suitable for the development of mechanised farming.

Two further sets of figures develop the picture. The outlines of the Plan fulfilment for 1953 showed a successful year with the planned output for industry as a whole fulfilled by 100.6 per cent and gross industrial output increased by 12 per cent as against the previous year. The output of electrical energy had risen by 15 per cent; coal by 13 per cent; ore and non-ferrous metals by 54 per cent; metal-cutting lathes by 80 per cent; railway wagons by 197 per cent; electric motors by 39 per cent; cotton fabrics by 8 per cent; silk fabrics by 9 per cent; footwear by 3 per cent; meat by 39 per cent; butter by 24 per cent; sugar by 58 per cent. The figures also show a slight reduction in the area sown to grain, but a 25 per cent increase in the grain harvest. The national income rose during the year by 16 per cent.

The budget for 1954, presented to the National Assembly on 4 February, provided for an expenditure of something over 17 billion leva and a revenue of something over 18½ billion leva. 76 per cent of the receipts of the budget came from the socialist sector of the economy, which means that more and more the burden on the individual in taxation is diminished. Only 6.1 per cent of the total revenue was drawn from the taxation of individuals and the population as a whole paid 136,000,000 leva less taxation than it did in 1953. Rather more than half the budget went to the development of the national economy—agriculture and the electrification of coal-mining, non-ferrous metals, and the mass production of consumer goods. Social services accounted for another 3,629,000,000 leva and national defence for only 1,933,000,000 leva.

The background of this economic transformation, without which it would not have been possible, has been the development of co-operative agriculture and the development of heavy industry. Behind the idea of co-operative farming lay the twin necessities of freeing manpower from the land to meet the growing needs of industry, and making possible the provisions of amenities in the villages which were not possible for the scattered homesteads of individual peasants, in addition, of course, to the creation of a more efficient and productive agriculture. These ideas were not new to the Bulgarian peasants who had long had a deep regard for their Russian brothers, and it is an interesting

fact that the rate of voluntary co-operation grew more rapidly in Bulgaria than in other Eastern European countries. As early as 1952 over 2700 co-operative farms united more than 53 per cent of the peasants and included over half of the arable land of the country. In the main grain-producing areas they united between 80 and 90 per cent of the peasant households. By 1956 almost 77 per cent of the farms and over 75 per cent of the arable land were co-operatively farmed.

It is worth looking at this development in practice in one particular village. The village co-operative farm at Brezovo in the plain beyond Plovdiv was started in 1945 by 840 families out of a total of 880. At first, according to its chairman Gino Doinovo, there were many strains and stresses but one by one they were overcome. There were only three rich peasants (kulaks) in the village and it was quite impossible for them to interfere with this development had they wished to do so. The main crop was grain with which 21,190 decarees were sown.\* With its 771 members and a total population with their families of 2766 the farm had 252 oxen, 129 horses, 107 cows, 150 pigs, and 2140 sheep. In addition to this each member had for the use of his family 3 decarees of land, 1 cow, 5 sheep, 1 pig, and a quantity of poultry. Donkeys were still privately-owned and carried luggage to the shepherds. 65 per cent of the produce of the farm was divided on the work-day principle (according to the amount and value of the work done by each member), 25 per cent went to land rent (according to the amount of land each member brought into the co-operative—this being a reduction on the 30 per cent distributed the previous year) and 10 per cent went into the farm fund. So far the Government had not charged taxes, but when, in 1951, the farm became well established, tax payments began at the rate of 10 per cent of the crops. The effect of all this on the people who comprised it was of great importance. Before all else it was fundamentally democratic in that it taught them to organise their own affairs for themselves. They organised crèches for two months in the summer to make possible the women working in the fields, and they began to develop their own social services. They began, too, to learn how to organise their work, so that their cotton crop went up two and a half times, their wine production one and a half times, and their vegetable production fifteen times. New crops, such as strawberries, were introduced for the first time. To the existing village elementary school a secondary school was added. Other new services included a maternity home with ten beds, an extended health

\* A decare = 1000 sq. metres.

centre, an extended cinema, and a library. By 1951 medical treatment had become free.

Feeding was no problem. A family of five, to give an example, received approximately a ton of wheat, over 3 cwt. of potatoes, and as many vegetables as it cared to have. It also received 22 lb. of wool and 48 gallons of milk. The children were given milk both morning and afternoon. In return for their cotton each family received about 54 yards of cloth from the factory. Sugar was distributed from sugar beet and there were also allocations of sunflower seed, vegetable oil from surplus seed, apples, and wine as well as a cash allocation which averaged 250,000 leva. Social relations are illustrated by the fact that the village priest was a member of the co-operative as well as of the Fatherland Front. Out of 2700 people on the farm, 400 belonged to the Communist Party. Private farms were not so well off as the co-operatives and, in 1950, 130 of them joined the farm. The farm was directed and managed by a board of seven appointed for two years by a general meeting. Another important official, the chairman, was elected directly by the members. The effect of the whole process had been so to eliminate disputes and quarrels about property that the village court had been turned into a cultural centre.

If this kind of picture is multiplied in many parts of the country some idea is acquired of what post-war development in Bulgaria has really meant. It has not come about, of course, without tension, and it is not without tension yet. But it is an essential part of the reality of the new Bulgaria.

Industry was nationalised at the end of 1947 and it was after this date that it began seriously to develop above its 1939 capacity. The percentage of privately-owned industry (after 23 December 1947) decreased from 83.6 per cent to nil and the percentage of socialised industry went up from 16 to 85 per cent. The result was that by the end of 1949 the gross output of industry was nearly five times larger than that of 1939. Taking 1939 as 100, the following figures are instructive:

	1948	1953
Metallurgy	850	8879
Heavy Industry (engineering)	1129	6513
Light engineering	118	499
Electrical engineering	6000	35,420
Chemical Industry	217	720
Building Materials	183	467
Rubber Industry	467	959
Woodwork	200	329

It is important, however, to notice that the drastic increase was in heavy industry and not in consumer goods.

Any study of the figures from the time of the September rising onwards, shows a stirring into life. A miscellaneous group of figures demonstrates it. During the sixty-six years before 1944, 13,000 localities were supplied with water mains of 1356 miles. Since 1944, 1264 acres have been supplied with 2721 miles of water mains; eighty-six hospitals have been built with 7500 beds; 720 village maternity homes have been created; the Red Cross had 20,000 members in 1944 and 102,000 in 1948; there were twenty-one machine and tractor stations in 1947 and by 1948 there were seventy-one; the physical training clubs had 19,013 members by 1948, the hunters' and fishers' association 90,000, and the sports clubs 31,000; before 1944 there were 123 amateur artistic groups; in 1945 there were 8900; seven sports stadiums have been built in the last twelve years. Growth of this kind has continued throughout the period we are discussing.

The Fatherland Front programme, laid down in 1942, was largely fulfilled by 1946 and it was after this, mainly in 1947, that decisive steps were taken in the direction of Socialism by the nationalisation of factories and the development of co-operative farms. Banks, foreign trade, industry, domestic wholesale trade, large urban property, and forests were socialised. Side by side with this the Fatherland Front ceased to be a coalition of parties and became, as Dimitrov expressed it, "a mass political organisation of the militant alliance of the working people of town and countryside".

International relations have played a big part in the post-war story of Bulgaria. The Peace Treaty was eventually signed on 10 February 1947 and again Bulgaria became a sovereign State. It was signed between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Czechoslovakia, Greece, India, New Zealand, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Union of South Africa and the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (the Allied and Associated Powers), and Bulgaria. It restored the frontiers of 1 January 1941 and politically it bound Bulgaria to secure human rights and fundamental freedom to all its citizens, to complete the freeing of all who had been imprisoned because of their sympathies with the United Nations or because of their racial origin, and to repeal discriminatory legislation of the fascist period. The political and military organisations of a fascist type were to be dissolved and their activities to be suppressed. Bulgaria was to recognise the other peace treaties. Her armed forces were to be limited

to "meeting tasks of an internal character and local defence of frontiers"\*. The economic clauses of the treaty were concerned with reparations and the rights of United Nations nationals. A special clause laid down freedom of navigation on the Danube.

As soon as Bulgaria was free to consider her own foreign policy she began to build up a network of trade treaties with her neighbours as well as with Western European countries. The most important of these treaties was signed with the U.S.S.R. on 10 July 1947 and was a two-year agreement for 87,000,000 dollars, under which the U.S.S.R. supplied Bulgaria with petroleum, cotton, paper, rubber, railway wagons, road vehicles, agricultural and electrical equipment, chemicals, and other materials, and Bulgaria supplied the U.S.S.R. with 20,000 tons of tobacco, with alcohol and with pulp.

Bulgaria then applied to join the United Nations, and her application was constantly repeated and as constantly rejected until she was admitted in 1955. It is fair to say that throughout this period the alignment of world forces compelled Bulgaria to turn to neighbouring countries with similar social systems for friendship and support. Such *rapprochement*, a natural one in itself, was made absolutely necessary by the facts of the "cold war". The Bulgarian Communist Party became in September 1947, a member of the Communist Information Bureau and the political line of this Bureau became the dominant political line of the country. Normal diplomatic relations were rapidly established except with Greece.† Pacts of "Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance" were concluded between Bulgaria and her neighbours. That with Yugoslavia was signed in 1947 after Marshal Tito had visited Sofia for a discussion with G. Dimitrov "for the consolidation of peace in the Balkans". In 1948 similar pacts were signed with the U.S.S.R. (directed against German aggression), Rumania, and Albania.

Greek-Bulgarian relations were a problem throughout this period. Boundary questions had not been happily settled. Bulgaria sympathised with the Greek Markov forces, and the Monarchists and Fascists who had come into power in Greece put forward vigorous claims to Bulgarian Thrace, and found frontier incidents by no means

\* The treaty permitted: (a) A land army, including frontier troops with a total strength of 55,000 personnel; (b) Anti-aircraft artillery with a strength of 1800 personnel; (c) A navy with a personnel strength of 3500 and a total tonnage of 7250 tons; (d) An air force, including any naval air arm, of ninety aircraft, including reserves, of which not more than seventy may be combat types of aircraft, with a total personnel strength of 5200. Bulgaria was not to possess or acquire any aircraft designed primarily as bombers with internal bomb-carrying facilities.

† The U.S.A. broke off relations in 1950.

inconvenient. The United Nations Special Commission on the Balkans (U.N.S.C.O.B.) was theoretically designed to improve the position, but it met with no conspicuous success and soon became mired in a function of the cold war. Its charges that Bulgaria was violating the "neutrality" forces in Greece were vigorously denied by the Prime Minister who asserted, however, that: "It goes without saying that our people are vitally interested in their southern neighbours establishing a democratic régime, peace and order", and Bulgaria continued to give asylum to refugees from Greece.

In a speech in Rumania on 17 January 1948, Dimitrov spoke of a Balkan Federation, an idea which had long been in the minds of Balkan Socialists. Ten days later the idea was rebuked by *Pravda* as premature and it soon became clear that relations with Yugoslavia, which would have been a key to such a federation, were deteriorating rapidly. Dimitrov publicly withdrew his suggestion. In June 1949, the breach took place between Yugoslavia and her neighbours and whole series of frontier episodes on both Yugoslav and Greek and Turkish borders took place in the peak years of the "cold war" that followed. Good and improving relations with her other neighbours, however, maintained the strength of the Bulgarian position.

The predominant religion in Bulgaria is that of the Orthodox Church, described by Dimitrov as "a people's church". Large numbers of its clergy had taken part in the anti-fascist struggle and some of them had even been guerillas. After the war they formed their own Union of Clergy which pressed, within the Church, for a policy of friendship with the new Republic. The Exarch, Stefan, resigned in 1948. In the following year, on 24 February 1949, a new law was passed to regulate the relations between Church and State. It guaranteed freedom of conscience and belief, and decreed the separation of Church and State, but gave a special position to the Orthodox Church in these words: "The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional church of the Bulgarian people and, being inseparable from their history, is in form, substance, and spirit, the People's Democratic Church."

In 1945 the Bulgarian schism had come to an end and the Bulgarian Church had been accepted again by the entire Orthodox Church. In 1951 the Church adopted new steps which enabled laymen to participate in Church government and a National Congress of the Orthodox Church of Bulgaria formed under these statutes, elected in 1953 a Patriarch of Bulgaria, so restoring an office which had been abolished by the Turks 560 years before. The Metropolitan Cyril of Plovdiv was elected.



Relations with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, both of them small minorities, were not so happy, and in both cases clergy were involved in espionage trials.

In July 1948 Bulgaria participated in a conference in Warsaw of the Foreign Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies which denounced the recently held London Conference on Germany and pleaded for the demilitarisation of Germany, four-power control of the Ruhr, a Provisional German Government, and the signing of a German Peace Treaty. The fusion of the Workers' Party and the Social Democratic Party which took place at this time has already been referred to. Tragically, however, it was also at this time that the former Deputy Prime Minister, Traicho Kostov, was expelled from the party and later arrested and brought to trial in December on charges of conspiring to overthrow the democratic state in Bulgaria and undermining the national economy. He was found guilty and executed. In 1956 it was admitted that the trial had been falsified and that Kostov's real crime had been "nationalist tendencies" which became obvious during the economic discussions with the Soviet Union and other People's Democracies. It was as the result of this trial that the Bulgarian Government asked for the withdrawal of the U.S.A. Minister, and the U.S. Government then broke off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

In July 1949 the country sustained a severe blow by the loss of its outstanding leader, Georgi Dimitrov. He was succeeded as Chairman of the Council of Ministers by Vasil Kolarov, while Vulko Chervenkov became a Deputy to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In October this new Government annulled the Bulgaro-Yugoslav Treaty, strengthened its bonds with China, and recognised the German Democratic Republic. The elections for the Third National Assembly took place on 18 December and resulted in a striking victory for the Fatherland Front. 98.8 per cent of the population voted and the Front secured an overwhelming victory with 97.66 per cent of the votes. Its election manifesto had been able to say:

Whereas no cultural rest for the workers could even be mentioned in the past, today the best summer resorts have rest homes organised for their needs. During 1949 one of every fourteen workers spent his vacation in a home. More than 300 million leva were spent during 1949 for this purpose.

... They know a lot about the care the former régime took of their health when Bulgaria held first place in the world for child mortality and tuberculosis. 81 million leva were spent during 1944 on medical care for the workers, while in 1949 this sum reached 1,300,000,000 leva. Today 4,500,000 people, more than half of the Bulgarian population, have the right to free

medical treatment secured them by the state. In each enterprise numbering more than 200 workers or employees there is a physician. The number of hospitals has increased by 20 per cent since 1914 and the number of beds by 35 per cent. In 1944 there were seventeen polyclinics. In 1949 their number reached 170. While in 1944 there were no institutes of preventive medicine whatever, now there are six.

... While before September 9th there was no system for medical care for pregnant women, mothers and children, today there is a special law for the defence of motherhood and childhood, according to which care for the mother and child has become a state concern. Special rations are provided for pregnant women, nursing mothers and babies. While before September 9th there was only one maternity home in the whole country, only four years later 412 had sprung up all over the country. Before the war there were only 470 beds in child medical institutions, today their number has reached 6700. While in 1944 there were only 292 kindergartens, in 1948-9 their number is 1040 besides 2494 village summer kindergartens.

... In comparison with 1944 the amount of pensions has increased more than four times. 3,100,000 people are included in the system of social insurance out of whom 2,500,000 are farmers.

... Since September 9th 100,000 illiterates have learned to read and write. ... Teachers paid by the state teach the workers in the factories. Special care in this respect is taken of the Greek and Turkish minorities. While before September 9th there was not a single evening school for those who work during the day, during only the last two years 75 primary evening schools, 152 evening secondary schools and 12 technical secondary schools were opened. In 1944, 5,000,000 leva were distributed for scholarships and in 1949, 600,000,000 leva.

... While fascism suppressed the creative initiative of the working people and in 1944 there were 12 dramatic theatres, 2 operas, 2 orchestras, and 123 amateur artistic collectives, today the number of theatres is 21, operas 4, orchestras 6, and there are 900 amateur collectives.

This manifesto showed very solid reasons why people should vote for the Front. But for all that the vote was too high in a country of admitted shortages to carry complete conviction.

The year 1950 began unhappily with the death of the new Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Vasil Kolarov, on 22 January. He was succeeded by Mr. Vulko Chervenkov who retained the office until his dismissal in April 1956 following the scandal of the Kostov trial revelations, on the grounds of his responsibility for "the cult of personality".\* Under his leadership the Government continued to grapple with the many serious economic and cultural problems which still confronted the country. One of the chief of these was the question

\* He was succeeded by Anton Yugov.

of water. In the fifty years of this century, nineteen had been years of drought, whereas on the other side in 1948 alone the country had had 249 instances of serious flooding. A programme of dam construction and water conservation was therefore begun, which included the construction of a dam on the Rositsa River near the village of Gorsko Kosovo.

Throughout 1950, and indeed in the years that followed, there was a great stress throughout Bulgarian life on the question of peace and every encouragement was given to the World Peace Movement. The Budget reflected this emphasis and showed only a 7 per cent appropriation for armaments. By 24 July, 83 per cent of the population had signed the Stockholm Peace Petition and in November a strong Bulgarian delegation attended the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw. At the end of the year, on 25 December, a law was passed "For the Defence of Peace" which made incitement to war and propaganda for war, crimes indictable at law.

In the general development of the country importance was attached to a Decree of the Council of Ministers of 20 March on the creation of a Socialist intelligentsia from among the working class which provided special courses and grants for good workers. There were conferences of co-operative farmers and industrial workers and in November an important Trade Union Conference which reviewed the work of the Unions. In May a new income tax law considerably reduced this form of taxation. Other laws of interest passed at this time were the Law of Obligation and Contract (which repealed a large number of old laws), the Law for the Defence of State and Co-operative Socialist Property, and the Law for Creating a Fund for Assisting Cultural Workers.

For a long time the Turkish radio had been appealing to people of Turkish origin in Bulgaria to go to Turkey and many of them were persuaded to do so. They crossed the frontier at Svilengrad as follows:

1951	January	1013	June	2897
	February	1539	July	2832
	March	2907	August	5787
	April	3059	September	10,272
	May	2927		

The figures rose in August and September because the Turks began to admit people with only Bulgarian exit visas and the result was a great increase in numbers. Then, on 5 September, the Turks closed the border even for those with Turkish visas and the result was a number of incidents and 5000 people camped on the border in conditions of considerable hardship. Even the international trains were

forbidden entry into Turkey. Eventually, at the beginning of December, an agreement was made. The total number of minorities in the country at this time was over 750,000. This omits Pirin Macedonians who are claimed as Bulgarians, but includes Turks, Gypsies, Jews, Armenians, and Rumanians. They played their full part in the life of the country and there were in Parliament six Turks, one Armenian, and one Gypsy as well as 2200 Turkish local Councillors. There were Turkish, Armenian, Gypsy, Macedonian and Jewish papers, and Turkish, Armenian, Gypsy and Jewish schools received Government aid. Jews have had full liberty to migrate to Israel and the majority have gone, so that out of a pre-war total of 50,000 Jews only 5000-6000 are now left in Bulgaria.

In 1951 the economic development of the country was carried forward. To facilitate the processes a State loan of over 15,000,000,000 leva was raised in February. A new decree on co-operative farming, aimed at securing higher yields, laid down rules for the organisation and productivity of the farms and the payment of labourers. Food rationing was abolished at the beginning of the year.

The trend of opinion in the country was demonstrated by the fact that the society for friendship with the U.S.S.R., the Union of Bulgarian-Soviet Societies, founded in 1946 with 28,000 members, by the time of its fourth congress in 1951 had a membership of 1,500,000. It continued to grow as Greece and Turkey became associated with the Atlantic Pact and tension within the Balkans mounted. A further sign of the growth of the country was shown by the fact that the First Conference of Stakhanovites (skilled workers who use initiative to increase production) took place in December. The Third Trade Union Congress held at the end of the year showed the unions with 800,000 members or nearly 90 per cent of all wage-earners. There is no compulsory unionism.

In February 1952 a new code of criminal procedure was passed by the National Assembly, which was basically on a French model, making a preliminary hearing a part of the procedure, and also making judge-ships elective. The court and not the prosecution is responsible for the indictment. There are no sentences which cannot be appealed against and all sentences can be revised at any time.\* Economically an important step was taken in May when the lev was fixed to the rouble.† At the same time all rationing was abolished and the prices of foodstuffs and of industrial products were lowered. The same month also saw the

\* In practice there have clearly been most serious defects in the administration of law.

† 1 rouble equals 170 leva. \$1 equals 6-80 leva.

Third Congress of the Fatherland Front at which the overwhelming note was the advances the country had made and the degree to which its fortunes had been linked with the U.S.S.R. The reality of the advance was visible at the Plovdiv Fair in August and September.

The dominant theme throughout the country continued to be peace. On 5 October history was made when the most diverse groupings, Orthodox, Adventist, Moslem, and Jewish, came together in a Religious Peace Conference and sent a message to the Government in which they said: "We all sincerely desire to co-operate with the people's government in the building of the new social system of truth and universal welfare." They added that they had drawn up an appeal to all the religious believers of the country "that they might join their wills for peace and raise them like walls against the plotters of war". This was followed in November by the Third National Peace Congress and that in turn by an important Bulgarian delegation at the International Peace Congress at Vienna which included the Metropolitan Cyril of Plovdiv.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the Five-Year Plan was fulfilled in all essential respects in four years, by May 1953. This good news was followed by other of a similar kind. A slight amelioration in the international situation led to an easing of tension with Greece and in August a Greek-Bulgarian Border Commission began the work of delimiting the frontier. It was completed by the end of the year and on 31 December a frontier agreement was signed in Salonika. In the meantime, in October, discussions had begun for a resumption of diplomatic relations. This success was impeded by the Greek agreement to provide military bases for the U.S.A. In September a Bulgarian Ambassador to Yugoslavia was appointed for the first time since 1959. Economic agreements were made during the year with Austria, with Turkey, and with Greece. A further drive was made for the development of agriculture and a minimum area to be sown with fodder was laid down, more mechanisation was planned and more skilled personnel were to be trained and recruited. About 60 per cent of the country's arable land was now co-operatively farmed. The first metallurgical plant was opened in November. With its record of achievement it is not surprising that there was an overwhelming vote\* for the Fatherland Front when a new general election took place on 20 December, although the figures seem to underrate the degree of opposition which remained in the country.

When, in February-March 1954, the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party was held, Mr. Vulko Chervenkov, in his general report,

\* 99.6 per cent. of a 99.48 per cent. poll.

spoke of Bulgaria's good relations with the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies, with the German Democratic Republic, with the Chinese People's Republic with whom diplomatic relations had been opened on 6 October 1949, with the People of North Korea, with the Mongolian People's Republic and with the People's Republic of Viet-Nam. "The Party and the Government," he said, "stand for normal relations with the capitalist countries, for the development of trade with them. Our country will continue to make efforts for the peaceful settlement of the disputed issues in the Balkans, for normalising the mutual relations with the Balkan capitalist countries." He went on to point out, on the basis of the kind of figures we have already quoted, that agrarian Bulgaria had ceased to be a backward country and had become an industrial-agricultural country. The current figures of Communist Party membership he gave as 455,251; he stressed the need of a much more virile democracy within the party.

In March 1954 came the fourth consecutive price cut within two years, a trade agreement was signed with France, and a new extensive agreement with China. On 31 May an important step forward in foreign affairs was taken when diplomatic relations were resumed with Greece. A new approach to Yugoslavia was shown by the visit of a Yugoslav football team to Sofia in September and the trade agreement signed between the two countries in November. A further sign of lowered tension was the amnesty granted to émigrés to enable them to return home.

In 1955 the economic plan for the year, which was the third year of the Second Five-Year Plan, provided for an accelerated development of productive forces so that capital investments were increased 14.1 per cent as against the previous year and it was planned that new thermodynamic and hydro-electric stations would come into operation, new coal mines would be opened and, for the first time, oil would be worked. Side by side with this went a sharp increase in agricultural production which was to go up 21.7 per cent as against the previous year and on the basis of increased production in both agriculture and industry there was to be an expansion of foreign trade.

The results of this included a trade agreement with Sweden which exported steel bearings, resistance wire, cellulose, paper and machines in exchange for grapes, tomatoes, vetch, hips, and other produce. To Yugoslavia, Bulgaria is now to export nitrogen fertiliser, technical greases, manganese ore, sunflower seed, rice, and vetch in exchange for caustic soda, gas oil, cigarette paper, sulphide cellulose, and other materials. An agreement on Danube River control was signed with



Austria in March. On 29 April it was announced that Bulgaria was to receive Soviet assistance in the development of atomic power.

The World Economic Survey of the United Nations for 1956 which brought most information up-to-date to 1955, showed Bulgaria on an index of 35 in 1949 having an industrial production of 45 in 1947 and 171 in 1951, the rate of growth having been fairly steady throughout the period. Cotton fabric production stood at 40 in 1939, 71 in 1948 and 147 in 1954; woollen fabrics at 80, 78 and 151 for these years and leather shoes (there being no pre-war figure) at 56 and 230. If producer goods were at 63 in 1948 they were at 184 in 1954 and consumer goods for the same period were 66 and 149. Although from 1953 onwards the annual rate of increase in industrial production was steadied from 22 per cent to 10 per cent, production of consumer goods still lagged considerably behind that of producer goods and the rate of increase in the production of consumer goods also steadied considerably. Output per man in industrial employment declined rather than increased between 1949 and 1954 but this was largely due to a decrease in hours worked. The production of bread grain had not by 1954 recovered to the figure for 1939 and this applies to other crops also, although the production of cattle, sheep, and pigs had passed the 1939 figures. For all this, national income was continuing to increase and by 1954 industry accounted for 56 per cent of the output of the country and agriculture for only 44. The picture in general, therefore, is a healthy one, the two weakest points being in consumer goods in general and the rate of increase in the growth of cereals.

Man does not live by bread alone and a country does not thrive by economics alone. Bulgaria in recent years has seen a great flowering of sport and drama and other arts. The cultural life of the people has taken many steps forward. Bulgaria, however, has been caught up in the great turmoil in which the change of power within society in Eastern Europe has found itself. It has been deeply influenced by the Soviet Union: its peoples have been swayed too by events in Yugoslavia, in Poland, in Hungary. How Bulgaria itself will come through the struggle of this period only a future history will be able to say. Today it is only possible to see that through the struggles of centuries, Bulgaria has maintained and developed its Slav culture and moved increasingly to a society which is striving to bring the good life to all its citizens. Its present and its future are not and will not be without struggle, and it is into these struggles Bulgaria takes the great spirit it has wrested from the past.

## A NOTE ON BOOKS

A GOOD, reliable history of Bulgaria does not exist in the English language. "The Nations of Today" series, edited by John Buchan, produced in 1924 a combined volume on Bulgaria and Rumania, the Bulgarian section being written by Lady Grogan. It devotes only eight pages to the period before the Turkish occupation and is written strongly under the influence of the First World War. The "Story of the Nations" series, again, has a volume on *The Balkans* which was published in 1896, written by W. Miller. It gave 130 pages to Bulgaria. There is, also, a slight introduction to Bulgarian history in F. Fox's *Bulgaria*, 1915, but this is essentially a journalist's book. Better than these, although extremely inadequate, is the seventy-eight pages in *The Balkans* by N. Forbes, A. Toynbee and others, published in Oxford in 1915. There is an inadequate article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. To the seven-volume *European Civilisation: Its Origins and Development*, E. Eyre, published in Oxford in 1934, the Bulgarians exist only as barbarians threatening European civilisation, until they reappear after 1870 as a peasant state addicted to secret societies. There is some useful summarised information in H. M. Chadwick, *The Nationalities of Europe and the Growth of National Ideologies*, Cambridge, 1945, and E. A. Freeman's *The Historical Geography of Europe*, third edition, B. Bury, London, 1903, is still of value for several periods. W. S. Davis, *A Short History of the Near East*, New York, 1923, is concerned with Byzantium and then Islam and does not recognise Bulgaria until the modern period. It simply has on pp. 94-9 "Notes on the Non-Greek peoples of the Balkan Peninsula, prior to the Ottoman invasions".

There is a valuable article in the *Soviet Encyclopedia*, which exists also in translation in a German brochure, *Geschichte Bulgariens*, and the new *History of Bulgaria* published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1954, 2 vols., is a mine of information for those who read Russian. Naturally the first place has to be given to the *History of Bulgaria*, 1954, 2 vols., published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Bulgaria.

To those who read German the first modern history of Bulgaria by C. J. Jirecek (*Geschichte der Bulgaren*), although greatly in need of revision, is still of interest. It was published in Prague in 1876. There is also W. N. Zlatarski, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Leipzig, 1910 and for the general history of the Slavs, L. Niderle, *La Race Slave*, Paris, 1922.

For the geographical background D. G. Hogarth's *The Near East*, London, 1902, is of use. J. Cvijic, *The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples*, New York, 1918, is Serb-chauvinist rather than scientific. There is, as yet, no good post-war map of Bulgaria available. Maps of Bulgaria, of all kinds, of course,

exist in abundance and in special libraries almost anything can be found from Mercator's map of Wallachia and Bulgaria of 1589 to the pre-war tourist maps and the war-time General Staff maps.

Other books which have some contribution to make are:

- Herbert, W. V., *The Chronicles of a Virgin Fortress*, London, 1896.  
 Ischirkoff, A., *Les Bulgares en Dobrudja*, Berne, 1919. An interesting survey of Bulgarians from the time of the first Bulgarian Kingdom until 1913.  
*La Bulgarie et la Dobrudja*, Berne, 1918. A short pamphlet based on the former work.  
 Jaworoff, P. K., *Gotze Deltscheff*, Vienna, 1925.  
 Kaunitz, F., *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1875. Has much information but is out of date.  
 Mishev, D., *The Bulgarians in the Past*, Lausanne, 1919. A history with leanings to Gibbon.  
 Monroe, W. S., *Bulgaria and its People*, Boston (U.S.A.), 1914.  
 Papadopoulos, A., *La Bulgarie Ancienne et Moderne*, St. Petersburg, 1856. The author stayed at Varna and writes an interesting discourse on the geography, history, archaeology, statistics and commerce of the country.  
 Samuelson, J., *Bulgaria Past and Present*, London, 1888.  
 Schevill, F., *The Balkan Peninsula and the Near East*, London, 1922. This is a history of the Balkans and whilst now in need of revision contains a good deal of useful information.  
 Schischmanova, M., *Ljubomir Wessoff*, Vienna, 1925.  
 Seton-Watson, H., *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*, London, 1917.  
 Singleton, E., *Turkey and the Balkan States Described by Great Writers*, New York, 1908.  
 Sloane, W. M., *The Balkans: a Laboratory of History*, New York, 1914.  
 Strakhovsky, L. I., *A Handbook of Slavic Studies*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1949.  
*Pro-Macedonia*, Macedonian Students' Association, Vienna, 1925. Contains material on ancient history and the modern liberation movement.  
 For any detailed study of the Bulgarian part in general church history see: Hardouin, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, 29 vols., Venice, 1728-32.  
 See also:  
*Catholic Encyclopaedia*, New York, 1908, vol. III.  
 Kidd, B. J., *The Churches of Eastern Christendom*, London, 1927.  
 Tozer, H. F., *The Church and the Eastern Empire*, London, 1888.

It should be noted that this bibliography deals mainly with English works and only occasionally and for special reasons mentions works in French or German. It does not deal with books in Bulgarian or Russian. The Annual of the Archaeological Museum in Sofia and *Digs and Searches* of the Archaeological Institute of Sofia should be read.

## CHAPTER I

There is no single coherent account which even tries to cover the ground of this chapter and the student must delve into a whole series of literatures.

The *Cambridge Ancient History* is of varying help but something of use is to be found in the first six, and then in the eighth volumes. V. G. Childe's *The Dawn of European Civilisation*, London, 1950; *The Danube in Pre-History*, Oxford, 1929; and *Prehistoric Migration in Europe*, Oslo, 1950; are all valuable. There is much archaeological information in Dmitri Tsonchev's *Materials for a History of Plovdiv*, Books I and II, Sofia, 1938 and 1947,\* as also in *Die Archaische Nekropole von Treblemishte am Ochrida-See* by Bogdan M. Filov, Berlin, 1927, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duvauli in Süd-bulgarien* by Bogdan M. Filov, Sofia, 1934, and in the *Annals of the National Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv*. The article on Thrace by H. J. Rose in vol. 12 of *Hastings, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1921, is worth consulting as are also G. H. Gaul, *The Neolithic Period in Bulgaria*, American School of Prehistoric Research No. 16, New Haven, 1948, which is the best detailed survey in the English language; N. Stojanoff and B. Acharoff, *Kritische Studien die Nelken Bulgariens*, Sofia, 1935; and B. Shefanoff and D. Jordanoff, *Studies upon the Pliocene Flora of the Plain of Sofia*, Sofia, 1935.

There is an interesting review up to the time of Philip of Macedon in Stanley Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria*, Oxford, 1926. On the Greek colonies something may be learned from E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913. There is a short, general account with one chapter on Greece and the Balkans in A. R. Burn, *Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic Empire*, London, 1947. Other useful works on the Greek colonies on the Black Sea coast include Arrian, *Voyage Round the Euxine Sea*, Oxford, 1805; Arrian, *Anabasis*, Books I and II, trans. H. W. Auden, Edinburgh, 1912; W. W. Hyde, *Ancient Greek Mariners*, New York, 1947; Thucydides, *Peloponnesian War*.

There is information on the Thracians in many ancient works including Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, Book V; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, Books VI and VII; Appian of Alexandria, *The Civil Wars*; Herodotus, *History*, Books IV-IX (there is a four-volume translation by A. D. Godley, London, 1920); Pindar, *Paeon to the Abderites*; Strabo, *Geography*; Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*; Periplus of Skylax (there is a French version published in Paris in 1948); *Chronicle of John Malalas*, Books VIII-XVIII, Chicago, 1940, trans. M. Spinka. A useful modern work is to be found in Dmitri Tsonchev, *Le Sanctuaire Thrace près du Village de Batkoun*, Sofia, 1941, as well as J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Part V, vol. II, London, 1912. See also D. Dechev, *Charakteristik der thrakischen Sprache*, Sofia, 1952. Some mention of the Christian history of the area is made in Bright's *Age of the Fathers*, London, 1902.

Many of the standard histories of Rome include some mention of events in this area. Pliny's *Natural History*, Book IV; Pomponius Mela, *Concerning the*

\* The works of Tsonchev are, of course, translations of the Bulgarian.

*Situation of the World*; and Procopius' *History of the Wars* (with English translation by H. B. Dewing, Loeb edition, London, 1935, 7 vols.) are especially valuable.

For the period of tribal invasions useful books include C. Oman, *The Dark Ages*, 476-918, London, 1919; J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols., London, 1889, and *The Invasion of Europe by the Barbarians*, London, 1928; H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1926; *The Growth of National Ideologies*, Cambridge, 1945. For the Huns in particular, there is E. A. Thompson's valuable *History of Attila and the Huns*, Oxford, 1948. There is some information in F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, London, 1949.

For the Macedonian period there are many useful books. These include: D. G. Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, London, 1891; W. A. Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, Cambridge, 1939; *Makedonische Erzählungen*, by Macedonian students in emigration, Vienna, 1926; G. Baschdaroff, *Die Makedonische Frage*, Vienna, 1925; L. Wessoff, *Gedichte*, Vienna, 1925; (the work of a Macedonian poet). See also: Herodotus, trans. A. D. Godley, 4 vols., 1920 (on the Thracians); O. Chadwick, *John Cassian*, Cambridge, 1950.

Dmitri Tsonchev's *A L'Histoire du Stade Antique de Philippopolis*, Sofia, 1947, throws light on the whole of the later period discussed in this chapter. The best introduction to the Slav period is L. Niderle, *Manuel d l'Antiquité Slav*, Paris, 1923.

## CHAPTER 2

For the first part of the chapter there is S. Runciman's invaluable *First Bulgarian Empire*, London, 1930. Unfortunately no such work exists in English for the second Bulgarian Kingdom.

For the tenth century there is valuable information in S. Runciman's *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign*, Cambridge, 1929.

For the period in general there are J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols., London, 1889; J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912); C. Diehl, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Princeton, 1925; N. H. Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1925 (an elementary introduction with a chapter on "The Debt of the Slavs to Byzantium"); C. W. C. Oman, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1892; G. Finlay, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, London, 1906; N. H. Baynes and H. St. L. B. Moss, *Byzantium*, Oxford, 1948; R. H. Jenkins, *The Byzantine Empire on the Eve of the Crusades*, London, 1953; S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilisation*, London, 1932; A. Vassiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Wisconsin, 1952; and of course, for all its cynical approach, Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols., 1909. J. Lindsay's *Byzantium into Europe*, London, 1952, barely touches on Bulgaria. The latest book which has to be added to this list is E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*, 1957.

*The Cambridge Medieval History*, J. B. Bury, 1927, vol. 4, is of value and has an important list of the Bulgarian Tsars.

Again, in French (Cousin, *Histoire de Constantinople*, Paris, 1671) are the lives of the Emperors by Leo the Grammarian.

For the Church History: A. Neander, *General History of the Christian Religion and Church*, English translation 1850, vol. VI, despite its date, is still one of the best. M. Spinka, *A History of Christianity in the Balkans*, Chicago, 1933, has value. On the question of Photius and the mission of Cyril and Methodius the outstanding Western writer is F. Dvornik whose works include *The Photian Schism*, London, 1950, *Le Second Schisme de Photios*, Brussels, 1933, *Le Premier Schisme de Photios*, Sofia, 1935, and *The Patriarch Photius and Iconoclasm*, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, No. 7, 1953. One volume of Photius' own *Bibliotheca* is published in the S.P.C.K. Translations of Christian Literature, and Bohn's Ecclesiastical Library has the *Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius* as epitomised by Photius.

There is an interesting paper on *St. Clement of Ochrida* by Methodie Kussef published by the Slavonic Review (undated). The works of Theophylact are available in Latin in 4 vols. of Migne, *Patrologia*, Series Graeca 123-6. They include his commentaries on the four Gospels. There are guides to the Rila Monastery with accounts of its history, in French and German. The eighth volume of Neander has an interesting account of Bogomilism but it fails to make much sense of the theory of the movement. Christopher Dawson's *Making of Europe*, London, 1932, has some slight reference to the Paulician side of the matter and there are fuller studies in D. Obolensky's *The Bogomils*, Cambridge, 1945, which is criticised in the text, and in S. Runciman's *The Medieval Mannichee*, Cambridge, 1947.

There is a study of the astrologer-Bishop Johannes Kamateros in German published in Würzburg in 1902 and some of his work was published in Leipzig in 1908. The works of Euthymius, including his *Life of John of Rila* were published in German by Emil Kaluzniacki in Vienna in 1901. See also G. Stoikov, *Boyana Church*, Sofia, 1954.

There is also interesting information on the period covered in this chapter in *Macedonia and the Macedonian Population*, London, 1917, and in H. G. Mackoff's *Bulgaria's Historical Right to Dobrudja*, Berne, 1918.

For the Crusades the outstanding works are A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, London, 1938, and *The Crusade of Nicopolis*, London, 1934. Many of the English chronicles have interesting references such as *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, Rolls Series, London, 1957. There is a little relevant material in S. Runciman's *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge, vol. 1, 1951, and vol. 3, 1954.

A study to be read critically is Nicolas Adontz, *Samuel L'Armenian Roi de Bulgares*, in Académie Royale de Belgique, *Memories*, tom 39, F1.

A number of medieval travellers went through Bulgaria. See, for example, ed. M. Letts, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, London (Hakluyt Soc.), 1946;



ed. M. Letts, *Mandeville's Travels*, 2 vols., London (Hakluyt Soc.), 1953; The Saga of Sigurd the Crusader 1007-11 in *Early Travels in Palestine*, Bohns' Library, 1848, which contains also *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière* (the best edition of this is C. Schefer, *Le voyage d'outremer de Bertrandon de la Brocquière*, Paris, 1892).

For economic history the best available work is I. Sakazov, *Bulgarische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1929.

### CHAPTER 3

The standard histories of Turkey are valuable here. H. A. Gibbons, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, 1916, has a very good account of the period 1300-1403, even though it is heavily biased on the Turkish side. A. J. Dunn's *Rise and Decay of the Rule of Islam*, London, 1877, is anti-Bulgarian. More important is E. Pears, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire and the Story of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks*, London, 1903, with G. Schlumberger, *Le Siège, la Prise et le Sac de Constantinople*, Paris, 1914. E. Pears, *Life of Abdul Hamid*, London, 1917, is also of value. E. S. Creasy's *History of the Ottoman Turks*, 2 vols., London, 1854, is remarkable in that its elaborate index is able to make no mention of the Bulgarians.

For a general history, see V. N. Zlatarski, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1918.

In 1930 the Academy of Sciences in Sofia published *Bibliographie des Articles de Periodiques Allemands, Anglais, Français et Italiens sur la Turquie et la Bulgarie*, by N. Michov, which is far and away the best guide to the periodical literature of this period (mainly, of course, the later and final part of it).

For the Church History, see F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1929. It is detailed and invaluable.

The story of Roman Catholicism in this period is important and can be traced in Fermentzu, *Acta Bulgariae Ecclesiastica*, Zagreb, 1887 (in *Monumenta Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. 17); *Diplomaturion Italicon*, vol. 4 (for Archbishop Petar Bogdan) and the *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Rome Num. 111) for Ivan Doichev on *Un metropolita di Mocahridos nel Siec XIV*.

The *Annals* of the Plovdiv Archaeological Museum contains material on the cultural side of the Renaissance.

The only history of the period in a western language is Alois Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Türkerherrschaft*, Berlin, 1925, and that is a very inadequate book. G. E. Hubbard, *The Day of the Crescent*, Cambridge, 1920, has a good description of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Turkey. See also Andrew Moore, *A Compendious History of the Turks*, London, 1659, vol. 4. There is a very small but useful history in J. Macdonald, *Turkey and the Eastern Question*, London, 1912.

The latest book on the subject is D. M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turkey*, Liverpool, 1954. It contains much information but its standpoint is one of opposition to "renaissance humanists and nineteenth-century humanitarians" who saw Turkey as barbarising. It seems that "the Ottoman conquest was welcome to much of the population of South-East Europe". It admits, however (p. 280), the difficulty of tracing any specifically Turkish contribution to the life of Europe, but that is because of the "non-racial character of the Ottoman Empire".

See also:

Allen, W. E. D., *The Turks in Europe*, London, 1919, is very valuable.

Bury, J. B., "The Ottoman Conquest" in *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1902.

Conder, J., *The Modern Traveller*, 1830, vol. 14, treats of Bulgaria slightly—but typifies the ignorance of the subject in England at the time.

Eversley, *The Turkish Empire from 1288 to 1914*, London, 1917, is a reasonable history.

Lyber, A. H., *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*. A study of Ottoman ruling institutions, Cambridge, Mass., 1896.

Moore, H., *Travels in France and Germany in 1885 and 1886, including a Steam Voyage down the Danube*, London, 1868.

Spencer, E., *Travels in European Turkey*, 2 vols., London, 1851; an important description.

Urquart, D., *The Military Strength of Turkey*, London, 1868.

### CHAPTER 4

There are many books on the Turkish background of this period and some of them have already been mentioned. S. Lane-Poole, *Turkey*, 1888, is one of the best. A panegyric is to be found in J. Lewis Farley, *Modern Turkey Today*, London, 1872. Farley was "Consul of the Sublime Porte at Bristol" and had the sublime ignorance or audacity in this book to recommend Turkey at this time as a suitable field for emigration. He also wrote *Banking in Turkey*, London, 1863. Later he changed his views and wrote (in 1875) *The Decline of Turkey, Financially and Politically*, London, complaining that the Turks had driven all Englishmen from their service, checked their schools in Turkey, and circumscribed their companies. Eversley and Chirol's *The Turkish Empire*, London, 1917, has a good account of the Batak massacres and British officials. E. Pears, *Life of Abdul Hamid*, London, 1917, should also be consulted. J. Mill, *The Ottoman in Europe*, London, 1876, contains the delicious contention that the Bulgarians have upset "peace, contentment and general prosperity in the Turkish Empire"! Ed. S. Storey, *The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey*, London,

1920, includes the story of Bulgaria's rebellion and liberation from the standpoint of a Turkish official. See also W. Miller, *The Ottoman Empire and the Balkan Peninsula*, vol. 12, London, 1910. Also V. Baker (Pasha) of the Imperial Ottoman Army, *War in Bulgaria, A Narrative of Personal Experiences*, 2 vols., London, 1879.

For the Russian side of it there is B. H. Summer, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880*, Oxford, 1937. Baron von Moltke's *The Russians in Bulgaria and Roumelia in 1828 and 1829*, London, 1854, has an interesting account of that campaign from the standpoint of a German officer.

A civilian account of Bulgaria immediately before the liberation is in H. C. Barkley, *Bulgaria Before the War*, London, 1877.

From the British side see A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy, 1783-1919*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1922. The second and third volumes are particularly useful for this period. For the general and diplomatic background, see *The Annals of Europe*, London, from 1739 to 1743. H. Butterfield, *Select Documents of Modern History*, vol. III, 1715-1920, London, 1931, prints a number of the key documents on "the Eastern Question" from the capitulations of 1740 to the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. *The Cambridge Modern History*, Cambridge, 1907-11, has no mention of Bulgaria until it comes to vol. 8 and then it treats of "the Eastern Question" and Russo-Turkish War. Vol. 10 still has no Bulgaria in the index but does have a discussion of the liberation. The situation that followed it is mentioned in vol. 11. For the early part of the chapter *The Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch*, written by his attendant Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo, in Arabic, trans. F. C. Belfour, London, 1829, is helpful.

See also:

Butterfield, H., *Select Documents of European History*, vol. III, 1715-1920, London, 1931, prints a number of the key documents on "the Eastern Question" from the capitulations of 1740 to the Treaty of Berlin of 1878. Cardinal Alberoni's Scheme for Reducing the Turkish Empire to the Obedience of Christian Princes, and for a Partition of the Conquests, London, 1763, trans. from Italian.

Fuller, J. V., *Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith*, Harvard, 1922.

Ghinov, G. P., *Actes et Traités Internationaux Concernant la Bulgarie*, Sofia, 1940, of great value.

Gooch, G. P., and Masterman, J. B., *A Century of British Foreign Policy*, London, 1917.

Grant, A. J. and Temperley, H., *Europe in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1927. Holland, T. E., *The European Concern in the Eastern Question*, London, 1885.

A useful collection of treaties.

*La Question Bulgare et les Etats Balkaniques*, Sofia, 1919. The best summary of the treaty position.

Marriott, J. A., *The Eastern Question*, London, 1940, 4th ed. The best general summary.

Mill, J. S., *The Ottoman in Europe*, London, 1876, accuses the Bulgars of disturbing the "contentment of the Turkish Empire".  
*Supplique Des Bulgares a la Conference de Paris, 1869*

Paton, A. J., *The Bulgarian, the Turk, and the German*, Brussels, 1855.

Temperley, H., *England and the Near East, the Crimea*, London, 1936. Covers the period 1808-53 and has a good deal of information on the diplomatic side.

There is valuable information in V. M. Yovanovitch, *An English Bibliography on the Nearer Eastern Question, 1481-1906*, Belgrade, 1909, but it is compiled from a Serbian standpoint.

For the period of acute crisis and liberation special reference should be made to:

Claydon, P. W., *England under Lord Beaconsfield*, London, 1880.

Harris, D., *Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876*, Chicago, 1939. This is largely a study of the newspapers but is quite unconscious of any working class press.

Harris, D., *A Diplomatic History of the Balkan Crisis of 1875-78: The First Year*, Stamford, 1936, Hoover War Library publication No. 11.

Herbert, W. V., *The Chronicles of a Virgin Fortress*, London, 1896, gives something of the story of Vidin throughout this period.

Hyde, A. M., *A Diplomatic History of Bulgaria, 1870-1886*, Illinois, 1928. This is, with difficulty, pro-Alexander.

Maitland, E., *England and Islam*, London, 1877. Anti-Gladstone.

Montague, R., *Foreign Policy: England and the Eastern Question*, London, 1877. Anti-Gladstone.

More, R. Jasper, *Under the Balkans*, London, 1877.

Seton-Watson, R. W., *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question*, London, 1935. This is a study of the two parties.

Sugarieff, V. S., *The Constitution of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee*. An important document. Printed in *Journal of Modern History*, Chicago, vol. IV, No. 4, December 1932.

Temperley, H., *The Bulgarian and other Atrocities, 1875-8, in the Light of Historical Criticism*, London, 1931. Proceedings of the British Academy. This is a useful review with a very important appendix on the excisions and omissions in the Blue Books dealing with 1875-6.

Thompson, G. C., *Public opinion and Lord Beaconsfield*, 2 vols., London, 1886.

Wirthwein, W. G., *Britain and the Balkan Crisis, 1875-1878*, London, 1935.

There is an interesting review of the subject in A. J. P. Taylor, *The Trouble Makers, 1792-1939*, London, 1957. This book contains also some comment on the later Balkan Committee.

An important source for the study of this period is biography and reminiscence and the following are worth consulting:

Anderson, M., *Noel Buxton, a Life*, London, 1952.

Armstrong, W. H. G., *A. J. Mundella*, London, 1951. Has important account of Eastern Question Association.

- Basset, A. T., *Gladstone to His Wife*, London, 1936.
- Buckle, E. G., *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, Second series, London, 1926, vols. II and III; and Third series, 1930, vols. I and II. Shows the Queen pressing Disraeli on the question of atrocities but opposed to Gladstone's bringing the people into the matter. Also shows Elliot ignoring Foreign Office. Also (with W. F. Monypenny), *Life of Disraeli*, 5 vols., 1920. Revised ed., 2 vols., 1929.
- Cecil, G., *Life of Robert, Marquis of Salisbury*, London, 1901. Vols. 2 and 3 for Congress of Berlin and the Alexander Affair.
- Susan Chambers of Malmesbury, *Life of Major-General Sir John Ardagh*, London, 1904.
- Descent, A. L., *John Thaddeus Delane*, 2 vols., London, 1908. Has Delane's rebuke to *The Times'* Constantinople correspondent for sending pro-Turkish dispatches.
- D'Arvergne, E. B., *Envoys Extraordinary*, London, 1937, has a chapter on Stratford Canning.
- Elliot, H., *Some Revolutions and Other Diplomatic Experiences*, London, 1922. The record of an impenitent ambassador, p. 255, "The Christians had been the first aggressors". He quotes Liddon as saying that it was "Necessary to replace Sir H. Elliott by a diplomat of human rather than of Turkish sympathies."
- Gallenga, A., *Two Years of the Eastern Question*, London, 1877. A journalist's account and reminiscences. He has an interesting story of his first visit to Sir Henry Elliot, "Everyone here will tell you that I am a Turk", said Sir Henry to me the first time that I saw him at Therapia, and I could hardly make out whether he intended to repel the charge or whether he gloried in it!" Later Elliot spread the canard that Gallenga was in Russian pay.
- Gardiner, A. G., *The Life of Sir William Harcourt*, 2 vols., London, 1923.
- Garthorne-Hardy, H. E., *Garthorne Hardy*, 2 vols., London, 1916.
- Gladstone, Viscount, *After Thirty Years*, London, 1929.
- Hamilton, Lord George, *Parliamentary Reminiscences and Reflections 1868 to 1885*, London, 1917.
- Hardinge, A., *The Life of Henry Howard Molyneux, Herbert, Fourth Earl of Carnarvon, 1831-1890*, 3 vols., London, 1925.
- Hamlin, Cyrus, *Among the Turks*, London, 1878. Hamlin was a leading American missionary and the founder (in 1859) of Robert College in Constantinople.
- Malcolm-Smith, E. F., *The Life of Stratford Canning*, London, 1933.
- Money, E., *Twelve Months with the Bashi Bazouks*, London, 1880.
- Morley, J., *Life of Gladstone*, New York, 1903.
- Pears, E., *Forty Years in Constantinople*, London, 1915.
- Reid, T. W., *Life of the Rt. Hon. W. E. Forster*, 2 vols., London, 1888. It was Forster who first questioned Disraeli on the atrocities in the House of Commons. He went to the east of Europe himself.
- Russell, G. W. E., *Malcolm Maccoll*, London, 1914.

- Stoyanoff, Z., *Zachary Stoyanoff: pages from the Autobiography of a Bulgarian Insurgent*, 1913. A living picture of the life of one of the rebels.
- Thompson, G. C., *Public Opinion and Lord Beaconsfield*, 2 vols., London, 1886.
- Thompson, E. P., *William Morris*, London, 1955. Especially pp. 239-63.
- Tuckwell, G. M., *The Life of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke*, 2 vols., London, 1917.
- Walling, R. A., *The Diaries of John Bright*, London, 1930.
- Whyte, F., *The Life of W. T. Stead*, vol. 1, London, 1925.
- On the military side see:
- Baker, V. (Pasha), *War in Bulgaria: a Narrative of Personal Experiences*, 2 vols., London, 1879. The author belonged to the Imperial Ottoman Army.
- The Diary of the late Lieut. and Adjutant W. L. Braybrooke*, London, 1853.
- Forbes, A., and Macgrahan, J. A., *The War Correspondence of the Daily News*, 1877, London, 1878. Also volume for 1877-8. Both are useful.
- Greene, F. V., *The Russian Army and Its Campaigns in Turkey, 1877-8*, New York, 1879. A part of this was reprinted in London in 1903 as *The Campaign in Bulgaria, 1878*. There is also, by the same author, a less technical book: *Sketches of Army Life in Russia*, New York, 1880. Greene had been the U.S. military attaché in St. Petersburg.
- Huyse, W., *The Liberation of Bulgaria: War Notes, 1877*, London, 1894. By the New York Herald-Tribune correspondent.
- Maurice, F., *The Russo-Turkish War, 1877*, London, 1905. The best military survey.
- Also to be consulted are:
- Barkley, H. C., *Between the Danube and the Black Sea*, London, 1876; *Bulgaria Before the War*, London, 1877.
- Christophorov, Peter, *Ivan Vasov: La Formation d'un Ecrivain Bulgare, 1850-1921*, Paris, 1931.
- E.R., *Notes on the Grammar of the Bulgarian Language*, Smyrna, 1946.
- The Kidnapping of Bulgarians during the Russo-Turkish War*, London, 1879.
- Correspondence between the Foreign Secretary and the Aborigines Protection Society and Anti-Slavery Society.
- La Vérité sur la Question Bulgare*, Paris, 1861. Catholic and pro-Greek.
- Mach, R. von, *The Bulgarian Exarchate: its History and the Extent of its Authority in Turkey*, London, 1907.
- Mackenzie, G. M., and Irby, A. P., *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe*, 2 vols., London, 1877. A good historical travelogue.
- Mavrodinoff, N., *Modern Bulgarian Art*, Sofia, 1946.
- Sandwich, W. H., *Notes on the South Slavonic Countries in Austria and Turkey in Europe*, Edinburgh, 1865.
- Tozer, H. F., *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey*, London, 1869.
- There are many Parliamentary papers dealing with the subject and many of them are of little interest. *Turkey*, No. 7 (1877) gives lists of the British consuls and vice-consuls in Bulgaria from 1870 to 1876; *Turkey*, No. 13 (1876) and



paper of 10 August 1876 is a return of the sentences pronounced and executed upon "persons concerned in the Bulgarian uprising". *Turkey*, No. 38, of 1878, is a dispatch from Lord Salisbury in Berlin. *Turkey*, No. 49 (1878) relates to the International Commission sent to the Mount Rhodope District. No. 31 Stefano and the Treaty of Berlin. Reference should also be made to the paper on Bulgaria of 10 August 1876; *Turkey*, No. 13 (1876); *Turkey*, No. 49, (1878) and No. 119; and for 1876, vols. 84 (pp. 25, 653); 90 (p. 1); 91 (pp. 391, 395, 403); and for 1877, vol. 92 (pp. 581, 589). To these should be added:

*Hansard*—(Report of Parliamentary Proceedings)—1876: 26, 27, 30 June; 10 July (Debate), 17, 21, 27 July; 7, 9, 11 August (Debate). 1877: 12, 22, 26, 27 February; 2, 8 March.

From the Foreign Office Records in the Public Record Office:

- F.O. 78, 2461, 19 July–9 August (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2462, 11 August–31 August (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2463, 1 September–13 September (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2464, 14 September–3 October (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2465, 4 October–21 October (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2466, 22 October–13 November (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2467, 13 November–10 December (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2468, 10 December–31 December (From Sir H. Elliot).  
 2472, July (From Sir H. Elliot and Mr. Tireylen, Telegrams).  
 2473, August (From Sir H. Elliot, Telegrams).  
 2474, September (From Sir H. Elliot, Telegrams).  
 2475, October (From Sir H. Elliot, Telegrams).  
 2476, November–December (From Sir H. Elliot, Telegrams).  
 2526, Military Attaché, Secretaries, etc. (Baring).  
 2551, 1 September–13 September (Atrocities in Bulgaria, vol. 1).  
 2552, 14 September–18 September (Atrocities in Bulgaria, vol. 2).  
 2553, 19 September–25 September (Atrocities in Bulgaria, vol. 3).  
 2554, 26 September–28 September (Atrocities in Bulgaria, vol. 4).  
 2555, 29 September–9 October (Atrocities in Bulgaria, vol. 5).  
 2556, 16 October–27 December (Atrocities in Bulgaria, vol. 6).  
 F.O. 195, 1077, Correspondence (From F.O. Bulgaria).  
 1089, August–September (From F.O.).  
 1090, September (From F.O.).  
 1091, October (From F.O.).  
 1092, October–November (From F.O.).  
 1093, November–December (From F.O.).  
 1094, January–March (To F.O.).  
 1095, April–June (To F.O.).  
 1096, July–September (To F.O.).  
 1097, October–December (To F.O.).

*The Gladstone Papers* (now in the British Museum), contain:

Miss: *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, 1876, 44695, f. 376; Lessons in Massacre, 1877, 44696, f. 66; Petitions from Macedonian villagers against the Turks (in Bulgarian), 44465, f. 143; Draft of Letter to the Metropolitan of Bulgaria from W. E. Gladstone, 1885, 44492, f. 127; Memoranda relating to Turkey 1843–1885, 44605, f. 128. There are occasional references among: 44611, ff. 87–120; 44630, f. 118; 44733, f. 125; 44734, ff. 61, 94, 185, 257, 281, 283; 44742, f. 186; 44743, f. 182; 44759, ff. 224–39; 44763, ff. 45–197; 44764, ff. 92, 101–8, 217.

Articles: 44697, ff. 52, 77, 97.

Preface to G. M. Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey in Europe*, 1877, 44696, f. 1.

The pamphlet literature is enormous and the list that follows does not pretend to be exhaustive.\*

A. B. Colonel, *Turkey and the Victims of its Bad Faith and Misgovernment*, London, 1875. A memorial presented to Lord Derby by a retired London army officer. The victims, it says, are the landholders.

*A Catechism on the Eastern Question*.

*A Common Sense and English View of the Eastern Question*.

A Fellow of the Royal Historical Soc., *The Eastern Question as involving the fate of the Ottoman Empire, and the Rectification of Frontiers in Eastern Europe*, London, 1876. Pro-Turk. Disturbances, it says, "organised from outside".

*A Few Words on "The Eastern Question"*, London, 1860. Argues for a federation of the suppressed peoples.

Agnes, M., *The Story of Russian Aggression and Turkish Defences, being a reply to Messrs. Gladstone and Bright's recent utterances on the Eastern Question*, Liverpool, 1877.

A London Physician, *The Crimean War; or The Turk Avenged*, London, 1876. An attack on Mr. Bright.

A Member of the Council of the National Union, *The Policy of the Government and the Eastern Question*, London, 1877. A conservative support of the government.

An American Gentleman of Matured Experience, *An American View of the Eastern Question*, London, 1878.

Andrew, Sir William P., *The Advance of Russia*, London, 1885.

An English Liberal, *The Indignation Meetings of the Liberals*, London, 1876. The essence of Liberalism is liberty and these meetings are for liberty "to read out a needed lesson to the Squires who deal out unequal law, the politicians who trade in place, the ecclesiastics of purse and scrip, and the politicians for whom country means paternal acres, and society merely the upper ten. To tell them that England will not be silent or connive at murder and rape and rapine to keep a governing class in power."

\* Where dates or places of publication are not given they are not known.

Day, W. A., *Russia and the Eastern Question*, London, 1877. Anti-Russian.

Derby, Lord, *Derby's Reply to the Guildhall Deputation*, London, 1876; *Reply by Lord Derby to a Deputation of Working Men at the Foreign Office on Monday, 11 September 1876*, London, 1876; *The Eastern Atrocities: Lord Derby's Defence*. His replies to the deputation received by him on 11 September 1876. Main concern is with Constantinople.

Dilke, C. W., *The Eastern Question*, London, 1878. A speech at Kensington on 15 January against being "Attorney for the Turks".

Duff, Mountstuart E. Grant, *The Eastern Question*, Edinburgh, 1876. A lecture at Inveraray on 14 November 1876 by the M.P. for the Elgin District of Burghs. Advocates a compromise suggestion that the daughter of the Tsar should marry an English prince and then become Empress of Byzantium and rule Bulgaria. He was attacked by the Bishop of Manchester for lack of sympathy with the Bulgarians.

Duggan, E. H. P., *The Eastern Question: Studies in History*, No. 3, London, 1902. A diplomatic study.

Eastern Question Association, *The Treaty of Berlin and the Anglo-Turkish Convention*, London, 1878.

Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions and Speech on the Eastern Question in the House of Commons, 7 May 1877, London, 1877.

Papers on the Eastern Question, 1877.

1. *The Evidence of Turkish Misrule*, Henry Richmond, M.P.
2. *Religious Aspects of the Eastern Question*, J. Llewellyn Davies.
3. *Commercial and Financial Aspects of the Eastern Question*, John Holmes, M.P.
4. *The Races, Religions and Institutions of Turkey and the Neighbouring Countries*.
5. *The Slavonic Provinces of the Ottoman Empire*, an address at Hawarden by W. E. Gladstone.
6. *The Promises of Turkey*, Arthur Arnold.
7. *Turkey and the Slave Trade*, F. W. Chesson.
8. *Fallacies of the Eastern Question*, W. Denton.
9. *Turkish Rule in Crete*, J. H. Skinner.
10. *Armenia and the Lebanon*, J. W. Probyn.
11. *The Martyrs of Turkish Misrule*, M. G. Fawcett.
12. *The Blue Books, and What is to Come Next*, Sir George Campbell, M.P., K.C.S.I.

Sir Edmund Hornby, *A Scheme for the future Government of Bulgaria*, London, 1878. A scheme to set up a Bulgaria "not to be left even for a month under Russian influence". So the Ministry of Justice should have English officials, war and education German, finance French, foreign affairs Russian, communications Austrian, and commerce and trade Italian. The police were to be foreign.

*Report of Proceedings of the National Conference at St. James's Hall, London,*



THE OLD AGRICULTURE

AND THE NEW







GEORGI DIMITROV (1882-1949)

1876. "The assembly which met at St. James's Hall on 8th December, 1876, was convened by circulars issued on 30th November, to consider the best means of promoting the favourable progress of the Eastern Question through the consent of the Powers and Nationalities of Europe. A list of the conveners is herewith published. Although so brief a time only could be allowed for the arrangements, the attendance from all parts of the country was very numerous. Members of both Houses of Parliament, Professors, Tutors and Fellows of the Universities and of the Public Grammar Schools, Merchants, Authors, Artists, Barristers-at-law, Gentlemen of Scientific eminence, Magistrates of counties and boroughs, members of Corporations, Trade unionists and Labourers, with Ministers of Religion of various denominations, were present in large numbers. Among those applying for admission preference was given to special delegates and to official persons; of these two kinds more than twelve hundred having a distinctly representative character were present. Others were admitted on the recommendation of the Conveners, and from the limited space at command, the general public in large numbers were unavoidably disappointed in their attempt to obtain admission." A list of 117 provincial towns which were represented is given and the list of those down as conveners runs into nine pages. The report is 136 pages in length.

- Speech by Sir William Harcourt to his constituents at Oxford, 9 January 1878.
- Edwards, H. S., *The Slavonic Provinces of Turkey*, London, 1876. Describes Bulgaria simply as part of former Serbian Empire.
- Effendi, Hadji Achmet, *The Cloud on the Crescent*, London, 1878. Anti-Gladstone.
- Elcho, Lord, *Russian "Lessons in Massacre"*. The Rhodope Report summarised in two letters from Lord Elcho to Lord Shaftesbury with his reply, 1878. The Rhodope Report alleged Russian atrocities and Elcho supports this. There is a weak reply from Shaftesbury.
- England's Honour and Holy Russia and Christian Europe*, London, 1878.
- Evans, Arthur, *The Slavs and European Civilisation*, London, 1878. Lecture at Sion College, 23 February 1878.
- Fadeeff, Gen. Rotislav (of the Russian Army), trans. T. Michell C.B., *Opinion on the Eastern Question*, London, 1876. Sees Austria as the chief opponent of Russia and the Slavs as Allies.
- Fitzmaurice, Edward, *Speech of Lord Edward Fitzmaurice made in the House of Commons 31 July, 1876, on Mr. Burns' Motion relating to Eastern Affairs*, London, 1876. Stands for Bulgarian autonomy.
- Forbes, *The Evidence of Archibald Forbes*, London. Anti-Turkish.
- Freeman, E. A., *The Ottoman Power in Europe*, London, 1877.
- The Turks in Europe*, Political Library for the People, No. 1, London, 1877.
- Freeland, H. W. (trans.), *General Klapka on the Eastern Question*, London, 1877. The report of an anti-Russian meeting in Presburg, 13 August 1877.

- Gladstone, W. E., *Lessons in Massacre*, London, 1877.  
*A Speech Delivered at Blackheath on 9 September 1876; Together with letters on the question of the East*, London, 1876.  
*Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, London, 1876.  
*The Paths of Honour and of Shame*, London, 1878.  
*Mr. Gladstone at Rhyll*, 1876.
- Gordon, C. G., *Memorandum on the Treaties of San Stephano and Berlin*, London, 1880. For private circulation. Advocates purchase of Cyprus and union of Bulgaria and Roumelia.
- Grey, *Substance of a Speech delivered in the House of Lords on Monday, 26 February 1877 by Earl Grey*. On importance of maintaining Ottoman Empire.  
*Substance of a speech delivered in the House of Lords on Monday, 26 February 1877 by Earl Grey*. An attack on the Duke of Argyll which urges support of Turkey.
- Guedalla, A., *Mitigating and Extenuating Circumstances in the Recent Turkish Default*, London, 1876.
- Hammond, C. F., M.P., *The Eastern Question*. A speech in the Town Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 7 December 1876, with a copy of Peter the Great's Will and Napoleon I's ideas on Russia, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1876.
- Harcourt, V., *The Eastern Question*. Speech to his constituents, Oxford, 9 January 1878.
- Hellenic Committee (Publication No. 1), *Bulgarians in European Turkey*, London. Opposes Bulgarian claims to Macedonia and Thrace.
- Historicus, *Key to the Eastern Question*, London, 1880. (Notes from 1650 to 1880.)
- Hood, E. P., *The Beaconsfield Sermon preached by the Rev. E. Paxton Hood at Cavendish Street Chapel, Manchester, 18 November 1878*, Manchester, 1878. "I am not a Demagogue, and I do not love Democracy; but I hate Imperialism and Despotism."
- Houghton, A. B., *The Gods on Peace and War*, London. On "the Russian danger".
- By the author of *The Vampyres*, *Credulity of John In His Right Little Island*, London. Anti-Russian.
- Hynes, M., *The Story of Russian Aggression and Turkish Defence*. Being a reply to Messrs. Gladstone's and Bright's recent utterances on the Eastern Question, Liverpool, 1877.
- J. H. H., *Breakers Ahead or The Doomed Ship, the Determined Captain and The Docile Crew*. A review of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy, Birmingham, 1878.
- Jenkins, Edward, M.P., *The Shadow on the Cross*, 1876. The shadow is the Crescent.
- Janus: or the Double-faced Ministry, London, 1877. A savage attack on the inhumanity of the Government.

- Justitia, *The Eastern Question Considered in Relation to the European Powers*, Kinross, 1877.
- Kenyon, J. G., *The Crisis in the East and the Attitude of Catholics*, London, 1876. Talks of Russian intrigues in Bulgaria and says: "The Christians of Greece are schismatics." The Catholic population in Bulgaria refused to join in the rebellion. Gives speech of Cardinal Murray in Leeds of September 1875: "Our attitude is passive."
- Kinnear, John Boyd, *The Mind of England on the Eastern Question*, London. Against Turkish rule over Christians, although Christians are "rude and dirty".
- Laurie, Col. W. F., *Remarks on the Bashi-Bazouks*. This is in their favour, and is by one who used them in the Crimean Campaign.
- Letters on the Eastern Question and the War; with Extracts from the Journal of a Russian Privateer*, London, 1856.
- Levi, Leon, *Peace the Handmaid of Commerce*, with remarks on the Eastern Crisis, 1876. The introductory lecture at King's College, London on 12 September 1876, of the Professor of Commercial Law.
- Lodge, R., *The European Powers and the Eastern Question*, Cambridge.
- Lorimer, James, *On the Denationalisation of Constantinople and its Devotion to International Purposes*, Edinburgh, 1877. An introductory lecture on Public Law.
- Mackay, A., *Handbook of the Seat of War in Turkey*, London, 1877.
- McKay, D. C. (ed.), *Essays in the History of Modern Europe*, London, 1936. Contains Clarke, J. F., *Protestantism and the Bulgarian Question in 1861*.
- More, Jasper R., *Under the Balkans*, London, 1877.
- Morier, D. R., *Turkey and the Christian Powers*, London, 1876. An attack on Turkey by a former British Minister to Switzerland.
- Butler-Johnstone, H. A. Munro, M.P., *The Turks: Their Character, Manners and Institutions*, London, 1876. Begins with "Turkish politeness".  
*The Eastern Question*, 1875. Reprinted from the *Pall-Mall Gazette* for private circulation, on the importance of maintaining the Ottoman Empire.
- New Light on The Eastern Question or The Future of Commerce*, London, 1876. For trade development with the East.
- Observations on the Eastern Question in its Bearings upon the Position and Interests of the British Empire in the East*, Leamington. Concerned with the defence of India against Russia.
- One who has resided in the Levant, *Hints on the Solution of the Eastern Question*, London, 1853. For the liberty of peoples.
- On the Eastern Question*, London, 1854. Translated from the French. The question not serious enough to disturb Europe and its population, for Russia has been overlooked.
- Outrages in Bulgaria: the latest Authentic Details*, Liverpool, 1876. The reports of the Special Commissioner of the *Daily News*.
- Payen-Pague, J. B., *The Turkish Crisis: a letter addressed to the Ottoman Ambassador in London*, London, 1876.



Philips, W. A., *Greece and the Balkan Peninsula*, C.M.H., vol. 9, 1907.  
 Pim, Bedford, Address to the Working Men of Scotland at the Music Hall, Edinburgh, 30 April 1878, on the *Position of Turkish Affairs*. This meeting resulted in a resolution moved by Pim in Parliament. "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying her to take such steps as may be necessary to invite the immediate assembly in London of a Congress of Representatives of all the independent States of Europe to determine the best means of preserving the general interests of Europe, and of maintaining inviolate the sanctity of Treaties."

*The Eastern Question*, London, 1877. Anti-Russian.

Poster, Prof. J. L., *England's Duty in the Eastern Difficulty*: a lecture to Glasgow Conservative Association, 23 December 1876.

Redcliffe, Stratford de, *The Eastern Question*, London, 1881. With a rather surprising preface by Dean Stanley.

*Revelations from the Seat of War; Russians, Turks, Bulgarians and Mr. Gladstone*, London, 1877. Anti-Bulgarian and anti-Russian.

Richmond, Henry, M.P., *History of the Origin of the War with Russia*, London. The Peace Society, 1855.

Rose, Philip, and Stanforth, John, *Turkish Debt: Report of a Mission to Constantinople on behalf of the Bondholders*, London, 1875.

Ross, R. S., *Honour or Shame*, London, 1878. An anti-Gladstone tract.

Row, Rajah Sir T. Madova, *Reflections About Russia*, Madras, 1884.

*Russia, Turkey and England: Thoughts for the times on the Eastern Situation*, 1877. Pro-Turkish.

S. (an Indian Civil Officer), *Turkey or India, or Our Indian Moslems*, London, 1871.

Sanderson, T. H., and Roscoe, E. K., *Speeches and Addresses of Edward Earl of Derby*, London, 1894, 2 vols. Vol. 1, p. 281, *The Eastern Question* (this is to a deputation led by Bright, 15 July 1876); p. 290, *The Eastern Question* (to a deputation of working men whose spokesman was the Rev. W. Denton, 11 September 1876); p. 302, *The European Question*.

Scotus, *A note on the Gladstones. The Peace to Come*, London, 1878. Anti-Russian and anti-Gladstone.

*Facts and Opinions anent Mr. Gladstone's relation to the Eastern War*. An attack on "Russian aggression" and "Russian atrocities".

Shelley, A. G., *To Be or Not to Be, That is the (Eastern) Question*, London, 1878. In support of Gladstone. It concludes:

Now England has the brass,  
 But she is not the ass

To squander it in fighting for a Turk;

She doesn't, I feel quite sure,

Wish to provoke a war,

By undertaking such unholy work.

Her motto should be "Peace",

Whereby she may increase,

Not waste, the treasured powder kept so dry:

For of each Iron-clad

We may, perhaps, be glad

For another occupation by and bye!

*Spectator*, "The First Alarm" respecting the Bulgarian Outrages. Reprinted from the *Spectator*, London, 1876.

Storr, John S., *Russia as She Is*, London, 1877. Anti-Bulgarian.

Swinburne, A. C., *Notes of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade*, London, 1876. An attack on Carlyle and Russia. "A preacher who defends the gallows, an apostle who approves the lash, has lifted up his voice against oppression, and has cursed 'the unspeakable Turk' by all his gods."

Taylor, S., *The Conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers on the Eastern Question*, London, 1877. Useful data on consuls and diplomats.

Textor, *How the Good Ship British Empire was steered through the Eastern Straits*, Warrington, 1876. Pro-Disraeli.

The author of *The Eastern Crisis, Peace or War! An Indictment of the policy of the Government*, London (Watts), 1877. An attack on Conservative Imperialism.

The author of *The Government and Kingdom of Christ* with a preface by the Rev. Alexander Duff, *The Eastern Question, Turkey, its Mission and Doom*, London, 1876.

*The Book of Benjamin*. Appointed to be read by the Electors of England, London, 1879. A satirical attack on Disraeli:

For Gladstone the Liberal, mine enemy; the man whom my soul hateth. . . .

This is the new Gospel that I proclaim unto you—

Love thyself first, and thy neighbour only in proportion as he is able to do thee good.

Now, the rest of the acts of Benjamin and all that he did; how he made war on the ruler of Afghanistan, and scientifically rectified the frontier of India; how he increased the taxes of the land, and how he fell from power, and was delivered forth into the wilderness—are they not written in the Second Book of Benjamin to be published in due season?

*The Complete War Guide*, Manchester, 1877. From a correspondent with the Turkish Army, Constantinople, July 1875. "My deputy arrested, my telegrams not reached."

*The Dardanelles for England: the True Solution of the Eastern Question*, London, 1876.

*The Eastern Ogre or St. George to the Rescue*, London, 1876. "The Eastern Ogre commanded the Southern Entrance to Squire Romanoff's estate. If the Eastern Ogre were killed, Squire Romanoff might get his gateway into his own hands, and there would be no living beside him!"

*The Eastern Problem Solved*, London, 1877. By agreement between Russia and the powers.

- The Eastern Question Discussed from a South-Sclavonian Point of View*, London, 1854.
- The Eastern Question: its Peaceable Solution*, The Duke of Edinburgh and his Russian Bride, the Future Rulers of Eastern Europe, The Glorious Results, London.
- The Fall of Turkey*, London, 1875. Because of debt repudiation.
- The League in Aid of the Christians of Turkey*, founded December 1875. Letters relating to the operations of the Society, London, 1878. Primarily concerned with Serbia.
- The Lion, the Monkeys and the Bear: An Apologue on the Eastern Question*, London, 1876.
- The Northern Question or Russia's Policy on Turkey Unmasked*, London, 1876.
- The Rhodope Commission and the Pall-Mall Gazette*, London, 1878. Four articles from the Spectator.
- The Row in the Zoo or the Hole in the Eastern Wall*, London, 1877. Pro-Turk.
- The Second Book of Benjamin*, London. Is prefixed with the text from Genesis 49, 27. "Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf."
- The True Solution of the Eastern Question*, London, 1878 and No. II, 1878. Advocates Greece taking over Turkey, Thrace and Macedonia.
- The Turkish Loan of 1854 and the Government*, London, 1877.
- Thompson, G. C., *Public Opinion and Lord Beaconsfield, 1875-80*, London, 1886, 2 vols. Contains an interesting analysis of English public opinion on the Eastern Question.
- Turco's Little Difficulty, and how he neglected the advice of his numerous friends*, London, 1877.
- Verncy, Sir Henry, *Our Quarrel with Russia*, London.
- Vigilans, A Few More Words About Anglo-Russian Dualism in the East, being a reply to Philalethes*, London, 1875. Anti-Russian.
- Warren, Charles, *The Land of Promise, or Turkey's Guarantee*, London, 1875. A speaker at the Church Congress mainly concerned with the freeing of Palestine from Turkey.
- "Warsling", *Justice for Turkey, and Maintenance of trading, versus Russian Intrigues*, London, 1876.
- Washburn, G., *Fifty Years in Constantinople: Recollections of Robert College*, Boston, 1909.
- Waveney, Lord, *Thorough*, London, 1876. "Pretensions of the Porte are as exorbitant and untenable as ever."
- Wellington, Duke of, *The Eastern Question*. From correspondence of the late Duke of Wellington, London, 1877. Concerned with Russian demands and opposition to them.
- Wirthwein, W. G., *Britain and the Balkan Crisis 1875-8*, London, 1935. A useful summary.
- Wolff, Fr. Baron de, *Turkey's Fall: the Decline of England*, London, 1875.
- Worms, A. de, *England's Policy in the East*, 1877. Valuable documents.

Wyatt, Capt. W. J., *The Eastern Question from the English Point of View*, London, 1876. Pro-Turk.

Xenos, Stefanov, *Union or Dismemberment of Turkey, to which is added Turkey as depicted by the Rt. Hon. Austen H. Layard and Turkey as explained by Stefanov Xenos*, London, 1876. Demands a strong Sultan.

Zancov, D., and Balabanov, M., *Bulgaria: by her two delegates*, London, 1876. "The history of the Bulgarian nation under the Turkish dominion may be condensed in these four words—'sufferings and tears; sighs and hopes'."

Gives translation of Turkish proclamation:

We give thanks and praise to God.  
Let us pray with faith and sincerity.  
We faithful are also of God,  
Like Mahommed, became the beloved.  
The swords have been drawn from the sheath  
And for blood this year have they thirsted.

(Verse 17).

It goes on to say that they will be kings of Russia. The pamphlet gives the memorial presented in the name of the Bulgarian nation to the six great powers of Europe, demanding freedom and also a letter to the Queen of England, an Address of Thanks to the English People through the *Daily News*, a letter to the Women's Movement, and a letter to the Ladies of Edinburgh.

Articles of interest in the periodical literature are also enormous. Of some interest are:

#### Contemporary Review

1876. July. Arnold, Arthur, Turkey, "We are the best police of the Bosphorus." October. Working Men on the Eastern Question, Gladstone at Blackheath. November. Maccoll, Malcolm, The Christian Subjects of the Porte.
1877. August. Freeman, E. A., The Relation of the English People to the Russo-Turkish war.

#### Diplomatic Fly-Sheets (published by Diplomatic Review from August 1877 onwards)

1877. 23 October. The State of War. An attack on Russia.  
24 December. Germany, the Ally of Russia.
1878. 12 July. The Rhodope Patriots. A Pomak rising against the Russians.  
12 November. What Lord Beaconsfield's Speech Ought to Be.
1889. 19 November. Mr. Gladstone's Falsehoods at Southport. An article still underestimating the Bulgarian Atrocities.

#### Diplomatic Review

1871. January. Quotes a consular report (Wilkinson, Salonika). "The Bulgarians who constitute the great majority of the Christians of this province are both in intellect and education far below their rulers."  
The Review is anti-Russian and minimises Turkish oppression.

1875. October. Quotes a letter to *The Times* of Lord Russell. "I am now ready to subscribe £50 on behalf of the Insurgents against Turkish misrule."  
Also a letter of Lady Strangford refusing to join the London Committee for Promoting Insurrection in Turkey.
1876. April. An address from the Ulemas and Primates of Bulgaria to Mr. Urquhart.
1876. October. The Bulgarian Insurrection. A report of 10 September 1876, addressed to the Grand Vizier by the Committee of the Notables of Filibe.

#### *Fortnightly Review*

1876. July–December. Bryce, J., Russia and Turkey.  
Congreve, Richard, England and Turkey.  
Earle, Ralph A., The Eastern Situation.  
Freeman, E. A., The Eastern Question.  
Ruston, Albert, Turkey in Europe.
1877. January–June. Blennerhasset, R., Reform of the Ottoman Empire.  
Courtney, L. H., Our Eastern Policy.  
Freeman, E. A., Geographical Aspects of the Eastern Question.
1880. January–June. Courtney, L. H., Turkish Fallacies and British Facts.  
Stresses that the quarrel is against the Turkish ruling class.

#### *Foreign Quarterly Review*

1835. Vol. 15, No. 29. L'Angleterre, la France, la Russie, et la Turquie.

#### *Geographical Magazine*

1876. Vol. 3. Has map of Eastern Europe occupied by the Turks and other material.

#### *Graphic*

1876. 1 January. Sketches in Bosnia.
- 15 January. First mention of Bulgarian "horrors" based on letter in *The Times*.
- 22 July. Note on the atrocities, Sir Henry Elliott, and Disraeli.
- 29 July. Pictures of Turkish Atrocities.
- 5 August. Pictures of Bulgaria.
- 12 August. On the atrocities.
- 19 August. England and the Bulgarians.
- 2 September. The Cruelties in Bulgaria.
- 16 September. Notes on Attitude of Lord Derby to Deputation.
- 23 September. Mr. Baring's Report.
- 7 October. The "Atrocities" meetings. "Enough of them!"
- 11 November. Pictures of Bulgarian orphans.
- 9 December. Attack on Mr. Bright.
1877. 6 January. Pictures of Conference at Constantinople.
- 17 February. Distress in Bulgaria.

- 24 February. Batak pictures.
- 3 March. Picture of peasant hut.
- 10 March. Lady Strangford's Hospital at Batak.
- 24 March. Bulgaria—pictures.
- 31 March. Anti-Russian leader.
- 12 May. Volume of support for Gladstone.
- 19 May. Pictures of Russo-Turkish War.
- 26 May. Mr. Gladstone in Birmingham.
- 9 June. Mr. Gladstone at Birmingham.
- 7 July. Pictures of Bulgarians meeting the Russians.
- 14 July. Shamla.
- 14 July. The Russian crossing of the Danube.
- 21 July. With the Russians at Oltenitza.
- 21 July. With the Russians at Biela and Timovo.
- 18 August. Shipka and Plevna.
- 1 September. Shipka.
- 8 September. Shipka.
- 29 September. Special war number.
- 1 December. Plevna and pictures of English officer with the Turks.

#### *Illustrated London News*

1853. Vol. 23. Articles and pictures from a pro-Turkish correspondent. Also in:
1876. Vol. 68.  
Vol. 69.
1877. Vol. 70.  
Vol. 71. Now much more doubtful about Turkey.
1878. Vol. 72.

#### *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*

1854. Vol. 24. Geographical and military.

#### *Leisure Hour*

- 1876, p. 567. "Any idea of asserting their independence we may be sure does not possess them."

#### *Missionary Register*

- 1840, p. 296. Has an interesting report on the conditions of Bulgaria.

#### *Nineteenth Century*

1877. June and July. Viscount Stratford de Radcliffe. Turkey. Anti-Turk.  
November. Forbes, A., The Russians, The Turks and the Bulgarians, at the Theatre of War.

#### *Quarterly Review*

1876. July–October, p. 480 deals with Parliamentary Papers on Turkey and attacks "the party spirit of the agitation".



1877. January–April, p. 476. A “balance of power discussion”.  
p. 573. In support of Derby.  
July–October, p. 211. A military discussion.  
p. 555. Anti-Russian review.

#### *The Times*

References in *The Times* are listed in the *Index to The Times newspaper* from 1854 onwards.

#### *Daily Telegraph*

1876. 21, 24, 28, 29 July. 1, 11, 15, 22 August. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 September. [The correspondence in these September issues is of considerable importance.] 7 (Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet), 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 (including text of Schuyler Report), 15 (the reports of meetings all over the country) [important], 16, 18, 19, 20 (Baring's Report), 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31 October. 1, 13 November.

#### *Daily News*

1876. 2, 22, 24, 25, 28 July. 2, 7, 9, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31 August. 2 September. (Series August–September of Reports from Special Commissioner), 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 31 October. 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28 November. 5, 9, 11, 16 December [an important letter from Gladstone].

#### *The Morning Post*

1876. 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 30 August. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 September. 2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21 October. 3, 18, 11, 30 November. 4, 8, 9 December.

#### *Evening Standard*

1876. 19, 21, 22 July. 11 August. 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28 September. 3, 8, 10, 21 October. 16, 27, 28 November. 8, 9, 29 December (Kossuth).

#### *The Observer*

1876. 23 July. 27 August. 10, 17, 24 September. 1, 8, 22 October. 3 December.

#### *Reynolds' Newspaper*

1876. 23, 30 July. 6, 13, 20 August. 3, 10, 17, 24 September. 1, 8, 15, 22, 29 October (Bradlaugh). 19 November. 10 December.

#### *Weekly Dispatch*

1876. 20 August. 3, 10, 17, 24 September. 1, 8, 15, 29 October. 12 November. 10 December.

#### *Pall Mall Gazette*

1876. 18, 24 July. 2, 14, 30 August. 19, 28, 29 September. 10, 14 October. 9, 12, 14, 27 December.

## CHAPTER 5

For the general history there is G. P. Gooch, *History of Modern Europe 1789–1919*, London, 1923.

Perhaps the most serious attempt that was made to describe the new Bulgaria in English was in E. Dicey, *The Peasant State*, London, 1894, which, with all its defects, presents a good deal of serious information. K. G. Popoff, *La Bulgarie Economique (1879–1911)*, Sofia, 1920, presents serious economic information. The development of law is to be seen in *Loi Organique: Statuts*, Sofia, 1899, and in Günter Beitzke *Das Staatsangehörigkeitsrecht von Albanien, Bulgarien und Rumänien*, Frankfurt, 1951. On local government there is a chapter in G. Harris, *Local Government in Many Lands*, 1926, and on national government C. E. Black, *The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Bulgaria*, Princeton, 1943, and *Constitution of the Kingdom of Bulgaria*, Sofia, 1911. A. Hulme-Beaman, *M. Stambuloff*, London, 1895, while partisan, is an important source. E. C. Cort, *Alexander von Battenberg*, London, 1954, is blind, in many respects, but contains some interesting diplomatic correspondence. There is also A. Koch, *Prince Alexander of Battenberg*, 1887.

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